NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

L. MARIA CHILD, Editor. | Without Concealment----Without Compromise. | DAVID LEE CHILD, Assistant Editor.

VOLUME II. | NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1842. | NUMBER 50.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At 143, Nassau street, New-York.

☞ All remittances, and letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper, should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER.

☞ Letters relating to the editorial department should be addressed to L. MARIA CHILD.

TERMS.—$2,00 a year, in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

The Standard.

ANNUAL REPORT

Of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

This society have no need to be reminded of the peculiar difficulties under which their committee have labored for the last two years. The unsettled state of things consequent upon the disruption of the society, and the establishment of a new paper as the national organ, involved us in debt; the arrearages of which have greatly embarrassed the proceedings of the present year. Some of our friends advised the multiplication of agents, and more extended and active modes of operation, as a means of paying old debts. The committee did not concur with this suggestion. They deemed it a primary duty to be honest to those who had just claims upon them, for services faithfully rendered. They had seen too much of speculation, to feel sure that extension of business would necessarily produce increase of funds; and their experience had tended to prove that agencies in general were more expensive than productive, in a pecuniary point of view.

In view of these considerations, the committee have limited the direct action of the past year to the support and extension of the Standard, and the employment of seven individuals, as lecturers and agents, in various parts of the country. This may seem like "a beggarly account of empty boxes," compared with the dashing operations of former years. But it must be remembered that the society had *then* ample pecuniary means, and could afford to engage the *whole* time of half a dozen men of ability, knowledge, and experience; while those who now look after the interests of the society, at this central point, are only able to give such portions of their time as can be spared from daily avocations for the support of their families. Moreover, the amount of good done cannot be always correctly estimated by the display made. Great quantities of water sparkling in the sunlight, before the eyes of a gazing multitude, may perhaps do less good than an unseen hose quietly at work within the building.

The course pursued by the Standard, during the past year, has been the result of a deliberate conviction that the advancement of our cause could be best promoted by calm, persevering appeals to the good sense and good feeling of judicious, honest, and reflecting minds. The committee concurred in belief that it was necessary to support the paper, not so much to lead, edify, or amuse *abolitionists*, as to reach the minds and hearts of *the people at large*. They consider this no compromise of principle, but simply a choice of means; and a steadily increasing subscription gives indication that they have not erred in judgment.

Our agents have served the cause in an able and efficient manner, and without exception deserve our cordial thanks. They have labored with energy, and so far as we know, with good sense and good temper. If the pecuniary circumstances of the society admitted, it would be money well expended to employ fifty such, if we could obtain them.—They have been content to labor hard for very moderate compensation; but the expenses of travel, the discount on money received for subscriptions, and the impoverished state of the country, combine to render agents expensive to our purse, though eminently useful in the broad dissemination of anti-slavery truth. Two or three of them have great business tact, in addition to other qualifications, and are willing to give pledge that they will more than pay their own way. In view of our present limited means, and the deranged state of the currency, it will probably be deemed necessary to employ agents on such terms only.

Considering the almost unparalleled embarrassments of the country, our friends have sustained us well; from Massachusetts, especially, the contributions have been, as usual, most liberal. One legacy was left us in a most unexpected quarter; and though we shall never receive it, we gratefully record it, as one of the signs of the times. A gentleman in Tennessee, who held two slaves, emancipated them on his death-bed, and left a tract of land to be sold, and the proceeds equally divided between six benevolent societies; among which were the Missionary, Bible, Education, and American Anti-Slavery societies. From the information received, we presume that the share of each would be about $800. His heirs brought an action in chancery to break the will; on the ground that the American Anti-Slavery Society was not incorporated, and was moreover a violation of the laws of that State. It was decided that all the legacies held good, except ours; though some others of the societies were never incorporated. The expenses of the other suits were ordered to be paid from the share of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Notwithstanding all our drawbacks and impediments, the pecuniary affairs of the society have very decidedly and manifestly improved. Had it not been for the pressure of old arrearages, we should have been completely out of debt; as it is, we are nearly so. Our new subscribers very far outnumber those who discontinue. We are exceedingly fortunate in a very intelligent and trustworthy band of printers; a diligent and careful clerk, and a most honest and faithful superintendent. After much jostling, things appear at last to be settling on a firm and safe foundation.

Those who have discontinued the Standard, have almost invariably done so from predilections in favor of the "Liberty Party;" and our agents have found their paths much obstructed by the same obstacle. Some disliked them because they did not vindicate that party; and others distrusted them as politicians in disguise—being suspicious that *all* abolitionists were seeking political preferment.

The position of the American Society in relation to politics seems to this committee sufficiently clear and obvious. But the American people have been so much accustomed to effect their objects by party organization, that they find it as hard to conceive of direct and positive influence on politics, without belonging to a *party*, as they do of powerful influence on the Christianity of the age, by individuals belonging to no sect. Whereas the man who talks and writes, *may* in fact do more to change the government of the country, and revolutionize the policy of parties, than a hundred voters; nay, he may effect this result, by merely staying away from the polls, on a principle distinctly announced, and perseveringly maintained. Let not this be mistaken for non-resistance ground. The non-resistant refuses to vote because he believes voting to be in itself wrong; but an overwhelming majority of this society refrain from voting, or give scattering votes, because they believe we can influence the politics of the country, and thereby act upon the government, more effectually and certainly, by thus holding the balance of power between great contending parties, than by forming a distinct organization of our own.—Another recommendation of this course is, that it leaves individuals more free, on points of far less importance than abolition, but still important to the interests of the country; such as national bank, tariff, &c. We have never denied that abolitionists have a *right* to form a third party; nor do we doubt the honest intentions and sincere abolition of many who favor that scheme. But the experience of every month convinces us that it is fraught with mischief to our cause. It has already brought into our nominal ranks many who have in reality no place there; and who, in trying emergencies, would venture our principles on the turn of a die; and we believe that the purest among them will, in the progress of events, find their rectitude endangered, and their moral vision obscured, by temptations which unavoidably belong to that species of machinery. We allude to this subject with no admixture of partisan feeling. We rejoice in any degree of good done by the "Liberty Party," and sincerely wish the beneficial results may preponderate over the evil; but this we do not believe; and it is our duty to reiterate warnings, when we see our cause in danger of being shipwrecked by a false movement.

Public events, during the past year, have conspired in a most remarkable manner to have an important influence on the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation. Strong attachment to the Union has induced the North to suppress her indignation at a long series of despotic proceedings; particularly on the floor of Congress. But there always comes a time when the drop too much causes the full cup to overflow. The Haverhill petition was but the outward expression of what had long been working in the minds of men impoverished by the bankruptcy of the slave system, and insulted by the arrogance of those who had wronged them. Its language was decorous, and it was respectfully offered by a man whose age, station, and moral character, entitle him to the highest consideration; offered, too, with a motion to report *against* the prayer of the petitioners; yet our southern masters treated that venerable man as if he were a saucy school-boy.

The affair of the Creole, for a season, resolved the whole nation into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society; and the noble manner in which the British authorities, refused to re-enslave those heroic men, cheers the heart, and strengthens the hands, of every friend to human freedom.

The contemptuous and despotic treatment of Mr. Giddings,—for expressing his honest convictions, in a respectful manner, concerning a subject involving the disgrace, the expense, and all the horrible chances of a war to sustain slavery,—has probably done more than any single event, to kindle the indignation of the North against the domination of slaveholders; and to this has been added the insult of having the remonstrance of his constituents expunged from the journal of Congress, at the bidding of the South.

The late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is most important in its character, and significant in its indications. It has carried terror into the hearts of thousands of unoffending and useful citizens; it emboldens the rapacious slave-hunter, and increases the dangers of the fugitive; and, so far as the decision of that high tribunal can determine the question, it proves that the North is sold, without reservation, to the support of slavery. One undoubted fact, endorsed in Judge Story's opinion, may have much significance in relation to our duties as abolitionists. Alluding to part 3, sec. 2, article 4, he says: "If this clause had not been inserted in the Constitution, every State would have had the power to declare the slaves of other States free, on coming within its territory."

Another question, fraught with results too momentous to be calculated, is the project of annexing Texas to this Union. The South has at last thrown off her mask in Congress; and she never yet has been known to do this, unless her plans were carefully laid, and well-matured. Her bold and haughty tone indicates very strong conviction of success; and is likely to do much toward securing it. Mr. Slade has recently warned the people, on the floor of Congress, that this imminent peril is very far from being over. Let not his warning be disregarded! Abolitionists are in great danger of relaxing their efforts, from the idea that they have already done enough, and that vigilance is no longer necessary; but the fact is, petitions and remonstrances on that subject were never so *much* needed as at the present time.

While glancing at political events having an important collateral bearing on the progress of our cause, we cannot omit the late extraordinary developments in connection with the controversy between New-York and Virginia. It is one of a thousand proofs that John Randolph spoke truth, when he exultingly announced, "The South will *always* govern the North, by means of her own democracy!" That men who so clearly perceive great principles of freedom, and profess to advocate human equality more than others, should consent to take from the meanest citizen the protection of trial by jury, for the sake of party considerations, is indeed a most shameful and astounding fact. The calm but resolute refusal of Gov. Seward to be an accomplice in this disgraceful proceeding, deserves our cordial gratitude and respect. The retaliatory inspection laws, passed by the South, are well calculated to punish the North for presuming to protect her colored citizens by the universal right of trial by jury. They could not have been better planned to embarrass and annoy her merchants and sea-captains; thereby leading them to curse the troublesome institution of slavery. It is, however, generally supposed these laws were merely intended to frighten the North into submission; and failing in that effect, will not be enforced.

Events of a less public and striking character are rapidly doing our work at the South. The party in favor of progressive emancipation in Kentucky, is so strong, that it requires all Henry Clay's management and personal influence to delay its action. The vigorous and rapid strides of Ohio are too glaring a contrast to her own increasing poverty and imbecility.—Tennessee is agitated by two projects for the division of the State; both originating in slavery. The western district proposes to unite with a portion of Mississippi, and form a new State, with Memphis for its capital, and Egyptian darkness for its moral atmosphere. The eastern district has been called "the Switzerland of America," and there may be prophecy in the appellation; for the spirit of freedom is strong in those mountains, and will yet come down like an avalanche on the institution of slavery. It proposes to start into independent existence under the significant name of the State of *Frank*-land. The spirit that is waking up there may be judged of by the following facts. The Rev. Thomas Kendall, who was tarred and feathered some time ago by a mob in South Carolina, lately gave an anti-slavery address in Blount county. Some men in an adjoining county sent word they would mob him, if he dared attempt such a thing. The people, in true Tennessee style, answered they might come as soon as they liked; that they were all armed, and ready to meet them; and the singular spectacle was actually presented of a band of slaveholders assembled with loaded rifles to protect the free discussion of slavery! In another county, among the mountains, the young men have debating societies, in which they have publicly discussed, "Whether Slavery or Intemperance is the greatest national evil." In the Girard valley, there has recently been held a very large and interesting anti-slavery meeting. The Rev. Mr. Jeffrey is mentioned as one of the most earnest speakers. He dwelt on the cruel treatment of the slaves, and said he was determined to use all his influence to redress the wrongs of that much-abused race. He told his hearers that the people of the North had organized themselves for the overthrow of slavery, and called upon them for help. "Who, in this assembly," said he, "is ready to use all his influence to put down the barbarous practice of slaveholding?" "I will! I will!" was the response of many voices. Mountains seem to be the natural cradle of liberty.

Virginia, too, has within herself the seeds of a moral revolution. The irregularity of representation between Eastern and Western Virginia, originating in slavery, is producing great agitation, and an obvious tendency to division into two States. By the Constitution, as amended in 1829, it was established that the representatives should be divided between the districts lying east and west of the Blue Ridge, in the proportion of 78 to the eastern, and 56 to the western division; and the only way to change this, was by a vote of two-thirds, in both branches of the legislature, in the year 1841, and at intervals of not less than ten years thereafter. The census taken at the end of the first ten years shows a great change in the white population. Western Virginia, in which slave labor is very little used, outnumbers the eastern districts, in the proportion of 371,570 to 369,398. The present apportionment of representation makes 8 white men in Eastern Virginia equal to 11 in the West. The western districts demand an equal share of favor, or division of the State by the Blue Ridge; and the whole discussion involves the merits of slavery.

For the last twenty years, the slave States, except the free-labor sections of them, and on new lands, have constantly dwindled in internal prosperity, and the elements of political power. This fact is daily becoming more frightfully obvious to themselves; and with this conviction their desperation increases. More than one half the increase of the white population in them, since 1830, is said to be in the single State of Missouri; and that consists mainly of free laborers from Germany, who hate slavery with an honest intensity that will suffer no compromise with it. When this valuable class of emigrants become naturalized, their political strength will be felt on the "peculiar institution."

In Mississippi the "vexed question" has been much agitated, in connection with her suits in the Supreme Court of the United States, concerning the importation of slaves; suits probably destined to have important bearings on the whole question of the internal slave trade.

Louisiana is much alarmed at the increasing numbers and wealth of her free colored population, growing up almost within sight of Haiti and the British West Indies. Virginia is foolish enough to promote the very agitation she dreads, by keeping up her controversy with New-York, on a question involving the plainest and most universally-admitted principles of freedom; and Georgia and South Carolina are aiding her in the work; with the civilized world for an audience.

Maryland, claiming the disgrace of holding the first convention avowedly to sustain slavery, found the practical results of that meeting were those of anti-slavery. The high-handed wickedness of the laws, by which she sought to add to the already intolerable burdens that oppress her colored citizens, and the cowardly despotism of imprisoning a northern reporter, shocked the best minds in her own community, and compelled them to utter a protest. The religious, too, condemned it; and slavery must beware how she offends the Church; for without her powerful sanction, the vile system could not continue a single year.

In Congress, meanwhile, the forbidden topic is forever rolling in on the wheels of some quite harmless question of business. Like Banquo's ghost, it comes unsummoned, and is thought of with perpetual dread, even when it does not appear.

Abroad, agencies are at work as powerfully as within our own borders. Cuba sees it for her interest to check the increase of colored population; and Spain at last co-operates heartily with Great Britain to prevent the fresh importation of slaves. This, added to the fact that the laws of that island render manumission very easy to the intelligent and industrious bondmen, indicates general emancipation, at no distant day.

The great powers of Europe, with one exception, unite to annihilate the traffic in slaves; and the activity of the American minister in producing that one exception, is another lamentable proof how all the departments of our government are tainted with the poison of slavery. Even the Bey of Tunis throws his influence against the accursed trade, and receives therefore the thanks of humanity. The autocrat of Russia gives the *world* leave to tear off the Russian flag from any ship that disgraces it to cover the slave trade. It is reserved for our glorious stripes and stars to be the only cloak that christendom will offer to cover that bloody wickedness.

Last, not least, in our list of propelling agencies, we acknowledge the hearty co-operation of foreign abolitionists. Notwithstanding our national prejudices, Great Britain has a tremendous influence on the moral sentiment of this country. It is not "British gold," as our opponents charge; it is British literature, religion, sympathy, and example; and for none of her benefits are we more deeply grateful than for the warm outpourings of the Irish heart.

Apart from moral influence, the policy of Great Britain, in developing the resources of India, is bringing us most powerful aid. The South have hitherto hated a tariff with peculiar bitterness, because it seemed to them an agent of northern prosperity; but the importation of a few ship-loads of East India cotton, has so terrified them, that they are growing clamorous for protection on the great southern staple. But no revenue laws can avert the fast-approaching catastrophe. They cheated Eli Whitney of his cotton gin in vain. Never again will the downy pod be rapidly changed to gold.

The Christianity of Great Britain deserves our gratitude for its friendly exhortations and earnest rebukes to the various sects of this country, on the sin of slaveholding. The despotism of southern statesmen, the treacherous hostility of politicians, the general falsehood of the press, and the consequent misapprehension of our principles and measures by the people—all these are as straws in our path, compared with the position of the American church. We trust the time is not far distant when the religion of the country will be roused to a full consciousness that it is "The bulwark of American slavery." Whenever the Church can be brought to treat the crime of men-stealing as it does the far less crime of horse-stealing, slavery will be abolished from that hour. We again repeat, not in the strain of idle declamation, or wholesale invective, but as a painful and mortifying reality, that the Church is the bulwark of slavery.

But, surrounded as we are by obstacles, piled up mountain-high, we see abundant cause to thank God and take fresh courage. As a society, we have gained little accession of popularity, and probably never shall; but our principles are spreading rapidly, and our means of gaining the popular ear have increased an hundred-fold. Our cause is indeed "going down;" but, as Garrison very happily said, "it is going down into the hearts, and minds, and consciences of the people."

Pro-Slavery.

LETTER FROM CALEB CUSHING OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1842.

To the Editor of the Courrier des Etats Unis:

SIR: I ask leave to address to you some observations on a very grave error which I have remarked in most of the discussions of the day, concerning what is called the right of search.

There is misapprehension as to the true question. It is not at all one of the right of search. It is a question altogether different; and, it may be added, a more important one, both to France and the United States.

The real question is this: Shall the inferior officers of the British navy have the power to seize, detain, turn from her destination, and send in for trial, every merchant vessel which they shall suspect of being engaged in the slave trade?

This is a British pretension entirely new, and which has no relation to the old question of the right of search, except in leading to the same abuses.

England began by assuming this right under the mere authority of an act of Parliament, and without having obtained the concurrence of the nations on which it operates.

The act is of the date of the 24th of August, 1839. It imports that the Admiralty may issue orders to British cruisers to *capture* Portuguese vessels engaged in the slave trade, and other vessels engaged in the slave trade, not being entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any State or nation.

But, how to know what vessels are subject to be seized by virtue of this act? They are designated by the words following:

"Sec. 4. *And be it enacted*, That every such vessel shall be subject to seizure, detention, and condemnation under any such order or authority, if in the equipment of such vessel there shall be found any of the things hereinafter mentioned, namely:

"First. Hatches with open gratings, instead of the close hatches, which are usual in merchant vessels.

"Secondly. Divisions or bulkheads, in the hold or on deck, more numerous than are necessary for vessels engaged in lawful trade.

"Thirdly. Spare plank fitted for being laid down as a second or slave deck.

"Fourthly. Shackles, bolts, or handcuffs.

"Fifthly. A larger quantity of water in casks or in tanks than is requisite for the consumption of the crew of the vessel as a merchant vessel.

"Sixthly. An extraordinary number of water-casks, or of other vessels for holding liquid, unless the master shall produce a certificate from the custom-house at the place from which he cleared outwards, stating that a sufficient security had been given by the owners of such vessel that such extra quantity of casks or of other vessels should only be used for the reception of palm oil, or for other purposes of lawful commerce.

"Seventhly. A greater quantity of mess-tubs, or kids, than are requisite for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant vessel.

"Eighthly. A boiler of unusual size, and larger than requisite for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant vessel; or more than one boiler of the ordinary size.

"Ninthly. An extraordinary quantity either of rice, or of the flour of Brazil, manioc, or cassada, commonly called farina, of maize, or of Indian corn, or of any other articles of food whatever, beyond what might probably be requisite for the crew; such rice, flour, maize, Indian corn, or other articles of food not being entered on the manifest, as part of the cargo for trade.

"Tenthly. A quantity of mats or matting larger than is necessary for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant vessel.

"Any one or more of these several circumstances, if proved, shall be considered prima facie evidence of the actual employment of the vessel in the transport of negroes or others," &c.

Remark, if you please, that the description in this law, of vessels suspected, and as such subject to capture and condemnation, is conceived in terms almost identical with those of the quintuple treaty.

That is to say, England took it upon her to arrogate to herself this high police of the sea, in virtue of a mere municipal law of her Parliament, in open disregard of the law of nations.

This act at the time of its passage was warmly opposed in Parliament by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and several other distinguished members of the conservative party. These statesmen contended that the law would inevitably embroil England with the people of the United States, jealous as they were of the old pretension of England to the right of search, and that it would violate the rights of all Europe, and especially those of Portugal and of France.

But as the whig ministry could only exist by making perpetual sacrifices to the extravagant demands of the abolitionists, it had to pass the law and put it in execution.

There is no principle of the law of nations which the provisions of this act do not outrage; there is no tyranny which the English officers cannot practice under its authority.

Not a ship sails out of the port of Boston or of New-York which a British cruiser could not vex and seize in the execution of this act of Parliament.

In effect, the British cruisers, armed with this law, have already presumed to arrest, to detain as suspected, and to send in for condemnation several American vessels whose only crime was that of pursuing on the coast of Africa a legitimate commerce, which Englishmen wished to interrupt, in order to get possession of it for their own exclusive benefit.

Upon these facts occurring, the government of the United States hastened to remonstrate against these acts of the English cruisers, and to claim reparation from the government of Great Britain.

Lord Palmerston perceived at length the impossibility of changing the law of nations by a simple act of Parliament. He became convinced that we would never consent to see our merchant vessels captured and detained according to the caprice of England. Then, instead of acting frankly towards us, and renouncing all pretension to the right of search, as has since been done, he eluded our reclamations, or put them off, by means of delays and devices of diplomacy, with the sole object, apparently, of gaining time, to be able to set in play the quintuple treaty, and thus to interpolate the municipal English law into the law of nations, to give to England the superintendence of the sea, and to direct the moral force of all Europe against the contumaciousness of the United States.

But Lord Palmerston has not been able to succeed with the American Union. It remains to know whether he will succeed in Europe. That is for France to decide.

As for what concerns the United States, the Earl of Aberdeen has withdrawn the cause of complaint. He has had the courage to be just and sincere. The British cruisers have received the most precise orders to cease to disturb the vessels of the United States. Moreover, the English ministry, admitting the injustice of captures which had been made, has already consented to indemnify the owners of one of our vessels, and it must naturally do the same in other like cases. For us Americans the sea is still free, because we have so willed. Determinedly to resolve on independence, is to possess it. Shall the sea be free hereafter for France? Not at all, if the King of the French ratifies the quintuple treaty. In that case, French vessels will be as completely subject to the insolence of English cruisers, as the *suspects* of the reign of terror were to the despotism of the inferior agents of the convention.

Read the conditions of suspicion. There is no person, possessing the least knowledge of maritime affairs, who does not see that under this treaty every merchant vessel will become suspected, and subject to be overhauled, from stem to stern; that the English officer may compel the discharge of the whole cargo, in order to verify and examine its quantity and quality, to decide whether there is too much water or provisions on board; whether there are planks, mats, handcuffs, two coppers; and that this verification cannot be made without tumbling over and deranging the whole ship; that the English cruisers will thus exercise a general *surveillance* of the commercial enterprises of every nation; that they will have the power of tyrannizing at will over maritime commerce, secure by express law against all claim for damages, either individual or national; that vessels engaged in lawful trade may be captured and sent in, and honest ship-owners ruined on the most frivolous pretexts; and that, finally, England will acquire, what she seeks, the monopoly of the trade of the coast of Africa, and the supreme dominion of the ocean.

In adopting the quintuple treaty, France will subject her commerce to these insupportable embarrassments.

America has chosen a different part. She repels this general police of the ocean which England would assume. She pretends to be sole mistress over her own, by sea as well as by land. She will never lower her star-spangled banner before the usurping cross of England.

I do not permit myself to doubt, that in the existing circumstances, France will do, in this respect, what her interests and her honor prescribe.

It would be a spectacle truly sublime, to see France and the United States vindicating the liberty of the seas, menaced by the grasping ambition of England; and this, in the face of the shameful stupefaction of the rest of Europe.

But if France should flinch from this noble task, the United States would undertake it alone. Alone, they would withstand the aggressions of England. Alone, would they enjoy the glory of defending the rights both of America and of Europe.

The gallant American navy, proud of its past victories, burns to combat once again for the maintenance of maritime independence.

They impute to the United States the design of continuing and protecting the slave trade. The accusation is false and calumnious. It is under cover of this imputation that England would endeavor to throw discredit on us, and conceal from the eyes of the world her real objects. The slave trade is forbidden by our laws; we ourselves will execute these when they are violated; we ourselves will guard the honor of our own flag, and will not suffer England to meddle in the matter.

England seems disposed to set up a *propaganda*, of the fanaticism of philanthropy. She reproaches us with the slavery that exists in the States of the South. Very well; if that is her plan, we Americans can try our hand as political missionaries, interpolating our democracy into the law of nations, and preaching equality, independence, democracy, and insurrection, to the hundred millions of white slaves who crouch under the sceptre of Queen Victoria.

In fine, rely upon it, sir, that the United States will never yield this pretended right of search to any foreign nation. We will never do it; never.—We do not desire war; but war a thousand times sooner than submission to these arrogant pretensions of England. I pray you to accept the assurance of my respect.

C. CUSHING.

Selections.

From the London Times.

THE CREOLE.

We published in our yesterday's paper a despatch, as temperate as could possibly be expected, from Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett, the American ambassador in London, on the subject of the brig Creole. That vessel, it will be remembered, was carrying slaves from one port to another of the United States, when part of the cargo rose, mastered the crew, killing one of the passengers in the scuffle, and carried the vessel into the harbor of Nassau. On its arrival thither, nineteen slaves, proved to have been concerned in the rising, were confined by order of the governor; but he entirely refused to interfere with the movements of the remainder—about 116 in number—who accordingly landed, and for the most part shipped themselves off, before long, to Jamaica.

"By her Majesty's subjects," (said the American consul, on the 14th of November, 1841,) "and the authorities of the colony, the slaves of the Creole were considered and treated as passengers; they *being allowed* to go on shore in boats tendered to them from on shore."

It is plain that, according to English law, these blacks could be "considered and treated" no otherwise than as "passengers." English law recognizes no such relation as master and slave; and any governor, magistrate, or constable, who in English territory attempted to restrain the actions of any man whatsoever, on plea of his being a slave, whether a native or foreigner, would be using absolutely illegal force, and would lay himself open to an action for false imprisonment. If any officer does venture so to interfere with any man's personal liberty, he must show distinct authority in the English law for so doing; and that law no more authorizes him to meddle with any human being because he is a slave, than because he has curly hair, or a pug nose, or thick lips. We have our own laws, and our officers within our own territory are bound to obey them; it is not an American consul, or even an English foreign secretary, that can absolve them from that obedience. Not Lord Aberdeen, or the Crown itself, can justify a detention which the law does not justify; not all the "most sweet voices" of the United States will excuse a British functionary in overstepping that authority with which the law invests him. We have our laws, and we govern by our laws; and it is mere arrogant impudence, mere presuming on English gullibility, to demand of us to govern by any other. This, however, Mr. Webster is obliged to demand.

We do not doubt that he feels the difficulty of his task—we believe he is alive to the audacity of requiring that English magistrates should administer American law on English territory. His tone is not that of a man who thinks himself in the right. But he finds it necessary to avoid drawing down on his own head, and that of the American executive, all that raving of Mr. Calhoun and his friends, which at present finds a more innocuous vent in the direction of Great Britain. And with this view he has had to write a letter which shall have about it enough display of argument, and menace, to satisfy these warmer spirits, without absolutely closing the door against reconciliation, or palpably making a fool of himself in the eyes of the British minister. If these are his objects, his letter deserves much credit for the ingenuity with which he has accomplished them. In the first, he seems to have been completely successful. "Mr. Walker expressed his gratitude at the tone and principle of the instructions. Mr. Calhoun had heard the documents read with great pleasure.—The argument occupied the whole ground; and coming from the source it did, it would put, he hoped, an end to this dangerous and unpleasant controversy." Judging from the cogency of Mr. Webster's arguments, as they appear to us, we can only comprehend this excess of satisfaction in those in whose behalf they are adduced, upon the supposition that Messrs. Calhoun & Co. are sharp enough to see how the real merits of the matter stand, and are actually surprised to find how much can be said for them; like the winner in a famous law suit, from whom the speech of his own able counsel is said to have elicited the incautious ejaculation, that "he had never known he was such an honest man before." Of this we wish Mr. Webster joy.

But further, he has succeeded in accomplishing this object, without pledging himself to a quarrel, or advancing any absolutely absurd principle of national law. And this by a very simple method.—The state of the case really was, that the captain of the Creole entered the port in the power of the black mutineers; that so far from its being necessary for the British authorities to use any violence in order to wrest the slaves from the masters, they had rather to exert their power in rescuing the masters from the slaves. With respect to the subsequent movements of all the blacks not concerned in the mutiny, the American authority, above quoted, tells us that their principle was *absolute non-interference*. The slaves "were allowed" to go on shore. Mr. Webster, on the contrary, finds it convenient to assume, throughout, that these slaves were freed by the actual "unfriendly interference" of English force—an interference which (whether justifiable or not) he probably knows to be totally imaginary; and as Mr. Webster's claim for indemnification is only contingent on "the facts turning out as stated," it may now be withdrawn at any moment, without the shadow of inconsistency on their "turning out" differently. And so Mr. Webster is enabled at once to talk loud enough to please Mr. Calhoun, and wisely enough to save his own character, and prudently enough to preserve to himself the privilege of retreating, at any moment's notice, through the loophole which he has left open behind him.

But this is not all. The American statesman has, by some strange delusion, taken this opportunity for enunciating, in the strongest form, those very principles upon which our government refuses to take any notice of the servile character of those whom it found in its harbor. Though we must observe, by the way, that it might have fared ill with his friend, the captain, and would carry no little encouragement to pirates and other malefactors, if the principle of non-interference, even within our own harbors, were carried quite so far as he proposes in the first of these quotations:

"There being no importation, nor intent of importation, what right had the British authorities to inquire into the cargo of the vessel, or the condition of the persons on board? These persons might be slaves for life; they might be slaves for a term of years, under a system of apprenticeship; they might be bound to serve by their own voluntary act; they might be in confinement for crimes committed; they might be prisoners of war; or they might be free. How could the British authorities look into and decide any of these questions? Or, indeed, what duty or power, according to the principles of national intercourse, had they to inquire at all?

The persons on board the Creole, could only have been regarded as Americans, passing from one part of the United States to another, within the reach of British authority only for the moment, and this only by force and violence."

These passages are actually intended as arguments *against* our conduct—*against* those who refused to inquire whether the blacks were "slaves for life," or "slaves for a term of years," or "in confinement," or "prisoners of war," or "free"—*against* those who considered they could not "look into or decide any of these questions"—who "only regarded" the blacks "as (free) Americans, passing from one part of the United States to another," and quite at liberty to stop at Nassau if they chose. But beyond this, Mr. Webster volunteers some almost explicit admissions, which, when he is at liberty more fully to admit the *facts* of the case, he will doubtless allow to be conclusive against his countrymen:

"It is not that in such cases *the active agency of British law is invoked and refused;* it is, that unfriendly interference is deprecated, and those good offices and friendly assistances expected, which a government usually affords to citizens of a friendly power when instances occur of disaster and distress."

And, more strongly—

"*If, indeed*, without unfriendly interference, and notwithstanding the fulfillment of all their duties of comity and assistance by these authorities, *the master of the vessel could not retain the persons, nor prevent their escape, then it would be a different question, altogether, whether resort could be had to British tribunals*, or the power of the government in any of its branches to compel their apprehension and restoration."

We have not time to notice the palpably unimportant distinction by which he seeks to escape from this last admission—a distinction between those who find themselves within British territory, and those who have actually mixed themselves with the British population; but will conclude our remarks by another extract from his letter, professedly, indeed, aimed at us, but which our readers will probably think rather more calculated for the consideration of Mr. Calhoun:

"It may be added, that all the attempts by the government of any nation to force the influence of its laws on that of another, for any object whatever, generally defeat their own purposes, by producing dissatisfaction, resentment, and exasperation. Better it is, far better, in all respects, that each nation should be left without interference or annoyance, direct or indirect, to its undoubted right of exercising its own judgment in regard to all things belonging to its domestic interests and domestic duties."

This is doubtless a principle of which none have been more tenacious than the Americans, so long as it suited them. We have now an opportunity of seeing how far they are ready to recognize in others what they have ever so jealously claimed for themselves.

From the Liberator.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

NEW-ORLEANS, Feb. 4, 1842.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—Were I about to write from any other part of the world, save the sink of iniquity, it would doubtless be necessary to preface my epistle with

an apology; but addressing you as I do, from this place, I shall offer none.

My objection, sir, in writing, is not so much to give you information,—for that you have from better sources,—as to vent certain feelings of indignation at the abominations of this part of the world, of which I am made an unwilling witness; feelings, sir, which I cannot restrain. I have witnessed today, the arrival of one of those floating "hells," a slaver, from Charleston; having on board from fifty to sixty as wretched mortals as I ever saw, though I was born in a slave land, and have visited almost all parts of the world. An American slaver!! only think of it! But how shall I describe my feelings, or the cause of them? It is almost in vain to make the feeble attempt. Picture to yourself, sir, a small brig, as dirty as you can well imagine, with from fifty to sixty half-naked, filthy, male and female blacks, from one to seventy years of age, as the ground-work of your scene; and then, to particularize, look at that group of six or eight women, perched up on the top of the long-boat, in the most indecent positions, nothing abashed at the numerous spectators; some with demure looks, and some quite delighted with the novel appearance of things.—Look at that poor, aged woman, resting her decayed frame against the same boat, with a calm but cheerful countenance, rejoicing, no doubt, at the thought that her shackles will goon be torn off by that iron hand, which it is out of the power of even the slaveholder to arrest. Again, view that group of youth, of both sexes, with anxiety depicted in their countenances, doubtless lest they should be torn from all that is dear to them on earth, and sold to harder masters; and that mother with a babe in her arms, and two or three little ones clinging to the remains of what might once have been a garment, and who, in view of the sufferings she is called to endure, can scarcely restrain her tears! How noble she looks, while standing forth in all the grandeur of the noblest works of God; and yet really degraded, even below the brute. But, hark! here goes an order from an inhuman monster in human form, to muster all his chattels to answer to their names. Pompey's name stands at the head of the list, and here is a great cry for Pompey. At length, Pompey makes his appearance, and answers to his name; and then comes "Sandy," &c. &c. These are all pushed over on the other side of the ship, to make room for others. I have said that these wretched beings were not half clothed; but I forgot to say, that what they lacked in apparel, was made up to them in a liquid fire, which, from its color, I took to be whisky. Their portions of this stuff they all appeared anxious to obtain. The impressions made on my mind, by seeing this man-thief serving out grog to his victims, will never be obliterated. And all this, sir, done in a free country, of course! Surely, shame lieth at her door. But the finishing stroke is yet to be put on. View in the back ground, a white woman, numbering some forty years, perhaps, with her family around her. She is looking on this doleful scene, with a broad grin of delight, which perhaps her husband takes for a smile. And now, sir, let me ask any man, with only common feelings of humanity, nay, more, with only common sense, if slavery is not degrading to all that are concerned in it?

But while I complain of the oppression of the slave, let me also say a word of the bitter wrongs which we suffer, who have a name to be free, we who get our bread upon the waters.

The existing laws do not, it is true, forbid our coming here, but we are liable to be taken up and imprisoned if found on shore, day or night; and I have known the steward of a ship to be taken up in passing from one ship to another in the next tier, with a pitcher of milk, and carried to the calaboose, together with his milk! There are many other bitter wrongs in this land of equal rights, of which I might complain; but enough for the present. Let this suffice, that the Constitution declares that the citizens of each State shall enjoy the rights and immunities of citizens of the several States. But the Lord help us! We are not citizens of any State, though native born Americans!

Go on, sir, and may God prosper you in all your labors. Although these inhuman brutes rave, posterity will bless you; yea, even the posterity of these slaveholders, when rid of the curse, will laud the names of such men as Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors; while the names and memory of their ancestors shall rot.

The Liberator and other anti-slavery papers are received and read here, as the Louisiana American, testifies. Your humble servant,

V. W. B.

From Dr. Channing's New Work.

REVIEW OF WEBSTER'S LETTER ON THE CREOLE CASE.

This document I propose to examine; and I shall do so chiefly for two reasons: First, because it maintains morally unsound and pernicious doctrines, and is fitted to deprave the public mind; and secondly, because it tends to commit the free States to the defense and support of slavery. This last point is at this moment of peculiar importance. The free States are gradually and silently coming more and more into connection with slavery; are unconsciously learning to regard it as a national interest; and are about to pledge their wealth and strength, their bones and muscles, and lives, to its defense. Slavery is mingling more and more with the politics of the country, determining more and more the individuals who shall hold office, and the great measures on which the public weal depends. It is time for the free States to wake up to the subject; to weigh it deliberately; to think of it, not casually, when some startling fact forces it up into notice, but with earnest, continued, solemn attention; to inquire into their duties in regard to it; to lay down their principles; to mark out their course; and to resolve on acquitting themselves righteously towards God, towards the South, and towards themselves. The North has never come to this great matter in earnest. We have trifled with it. We have left things to take their course. We have been too much absorbed in pecuniary interests, to watch the bearing of slavery on the government. Perhaps we have wanted the spirit, the manliness, to look the subject fully in the face. Accordingly, the slave power has been allowed to stamp itself on the national policy, and to fortify itself with the national arm. For the pecuniary injury to our prosperity, which may be traced to this source, I care little or nothing. There is a higher view of the case. There is a more vital question to be settled, than that of interest—the question of duty; and to this my remarks will be confined.

The letter which is now to be examined, may be regarded either as the work of an individual, or as the work of the government. I shall regard it in the latter light alone. Its personal bearings are of no moment. No individual will enter my thoughts in this discussion. I regard the letter as issuing from the cabinet; as an executive document; as laying down the principle to which the public policy is in danger of being conformed; as fitted to draw the whole country into support of an institution which the free States abhor. With the opinions of an individual, I have nothing to do. Corrupt principles adopted by the government—these and these alone it will be my object to expose.

In regard to the reasonings and doctrines of the document, it is a happy circumstance, that they come within the comprehension of the mass of the people. The case of the Creole is a simple one, which requires no extensive legal study to be understood. A man who has had little connection with public affairs, is as able to decide on it as the bulk of politicians. The elements of the case are so few, and the principles on which its determination rests, are so obvious, that nothing but a sound moral judgment is necessary to the discussion. Nothing can darken it but legal subtlety. None can easily doubt it, but those who surrender conscience and reason to arbitrary rules.

The question between the American and English governments turns mainly on one point. The English government does not recognize within its bounds any property in man. It maintains, that slavery rests wholly on local municipal legislation; that it is an institution not sustained and enforced by the law of nature; and still more, that it is repugnant to this law; and that of course no man, who enters the territory, or is placed under the jurisdiction of England, can be regarded as a slave, but must be treated as free. The law creating slavery, it is maintained, has and can have no force beyond the State which creates it. No other nation can be bound by it. Whatever validity this ordinance, which deprives a man of all his rights, may have within the jurisdiction of the community in which it had its birth, it can have no validity anywhere else. This is the principle on which the English government founds itself.

This principle is so plain, that it has been established and is acted upon among ourselves, and in the neighboring British provinces. When a slave is brought by his master into Massachusetts, he is pronounced free; on the ground that the law of slavery has no force beyond the State which ordains it; and that the right of every man to liberty is recognized as one of the funadmental laws of the commonwealth. A slave flying from his master to this commonwealth, is indeed restored; but not on account of the validity of the legislation of the South on this point, but solely on the ground of a positive provision of the Constitution of the United States; and he is delivered, not as a slave, but as a "person held to service by law in another State." We should not think, for a moment, of restoring a slave flying to us from Cuba or Turkey. We recognize no right of a foreign master on our soil. The moment he brings his slave here, his claim vanishes into air; and this takes place because we recognize freedom as the right of every human being.

By the provision of the Constitution, as we have said, the fugitive slave from the South is restored by us, or at least his master's claim is not annulled. But we have proof at our door, that this exception rests on positive, not on natural law. Suppose the fugitive to pass through our territory undiscovered, and to reach the soil of Canada. The moment he touches it, he is free. The master finds there an equal in his slave. The British authority extends the same protection over both. Accordingly, a colony of fugitive slaves is growing up securely, beyond our border, in the enjoyment of all the rights of British subjects. And this good work has been going on for years, without any complaint against England as violating national law, or without any claim for compensation. These are plain facts. We ourselves construe the law of nature and nations as England does.

But the question is not to be settled on the narrow ground of precedent alone. Let us view it in the light of eternal, universal truth. A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation; and to this I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights; has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures. A man, by his very nature, as an intelligent, moral creature of God, has claims to aid and kind regard from all other men. There is a grand law of humanity, more comprehensive than all others, and under which every man should find shelter. He has not only a right, but is bound to use freely and improve the powers which God has given him; and other men, instead of obstructing, are bound to assist their development and exertion. These claims a man does not derive from the family or tribe in which he began his being. They are not the growth of a particular soil; they are not written on a particular complexion; they belong to human nature. The ground on which one man asserts them, all men stand on; nor can they be denied to one, without being denied to all. We have here a common interest. We must all stand or fall together. We all have claims on our race—claims of kindness and justice; claims grounded on our relation to our common Father, and on the inheritance of a common nature.

Because a number of men invade the rights of a fellow-creature, and pronounce him destitute of rights, his claims are not a whit touched by this.—He is as much a man as before. Not a single gift of God, on which his rights rest, is taken away.—His relations to the rest of his race are in no measure affected. He is as truly their brother as if his tribe had not pronounced him a brute. If, indeed, any change takes place, his claims are enhanced, on the ground that the suffering and injured are entitled to peculiar regard. If any rights should be singularly sacred in our sight, they are those which are denied and trodden in the dust.

It seems to be thought by some, that a man derives all his rights from the nation to which he belongs. They are gifts of the State, and the State may take them away, if it will. A man, it is thought, has claims on other men not as a man, but as an Englishman, an American, or a subject of some other State. He must produce his parchment of citizenship, before he binds other men to protect him, to respect his free agency, to leave him the use of his powers, according to his own will. Local, municipal law is thus made the fountain and measure of rights. The stranger must tell us where he was born, what privileges he enjoyed at home, or no tie links us to one another.

In conformity to these views, it is thought that when one community declares a man to be a slave, other communities must respect this decree; that the duties of a foreign nation to an individual are to be determined by a brand set on him on his own shores; that his relations to his whole race may be affected by the local act of a community, no matter how small or how unjust.

This is a terrible doctrine. It strikes a blow at all the rights of human nature. It enables the political body to which we belong, no matter how wicked or weak, to make each of us an outcast from his race. It makes a man nothing in himself. As a man, he has no significance. He is sacred only as far as some State has taken him under its care.—Stripped of his nationality, he is at the mercy of all who may incline to lay hold on him. He may be seized, imprisoned, sent to work in galleys or mines, unless some foreign State spreads its shield over him as one of its citizens.

This doctrine is as false as it is terrible. Man is not the mere creature of the State. Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all characters and communities; not conventional, nor repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being.

This annihilation of the individual, by merging him in the State, lies in the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous, because the very end of the State, of the organization of the nation, is to secure the individual in all his rights, and especially to secure the rights of the weak. Here is the fundamental idea of political association. In an unorganized society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no umpire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this, to give right the ascendency over force, this is the grand idea and end of government, of country, of political constitutions. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country, whether he shall have rights, and whether other States shall regard him as man. When cast on a foreign shore, his country, and not his humanity, is to be proportioned to what he meets at home.

I repeat it, for the truth deserves reiteration, that all nations are bound to respect the rights of every human being. This is God's law, as old as the world. No local law can touch it. No ordinance of a particular State, degrading men to chattels, can absolve all nations from the obligation of regarding the injured beings as men, or bind them to send back the injured to their chains. The character of a slave, attached to a man by a local government, is not and cannot be incorporated into his nature. It does not cling to him, go where he will. The scar of slavery on his back does not reach his soul. The arbitrary relation between him and his master cannot suspend the primitive indestructible relation by which God binds him to his kind.

The idea that a particular State may fix, enduringly, this stigma upon a human being, and can bind the most just and generous men to respect it, should be rejected with scorn and indignation. It reminds us of those horrible fictions, in which some demon is described as stamping an indelible mark of hell on his helpless victims. It was the horrible peculiarity of the world in the reign of Tiberius, that it had become one vast prison. The unhappy man, on whom the blighting suspicion of the tyrant had fallen, could find no shelter or escape through the whole civilized regions of the globe. Everywhere his sentence followed him like fate. And can the law of a despot, or of a chamber of despots, extend now the same fearful doom to the ends of the earth? Can a little State at the South spread its web of cruel, wrongful legislation over both continents? Do all communities become spell-bound by a law in a single country creating slavery? Must they become the slave's jailers? Must they be less merciful than the storm which drives off the bondman from the detested shore of servitude, and casts him on the soil of freedom? Must even that soil become tainted by an ordinance passed perhaps in another hemisphere? Has oppression this terrible omnipotence? Must the whole world register the slaveholders' decree? Then the earth is blighted, indeed. Then, as some ancient sects taught, it is truly the empire of the principle of evil, of the power of darkness. Then God is dethroned here; for where injustice and oppression are omnipotent, God has no empire.

I have thus stated the great principle on which the English authorities acted in the case of the Creole, and on which all nations are bound to act.—Slavery is the creature of local law, having power not a hand-breadth beyond the jurisdiction of the country which ordains it. Other nations know nothing of it; are bound to pay it no heed. I might add, that other nations are bound to tolerate it within the bounds of a particular State, only on the grounds on which they suffer a particular State to establish bloody persecutions, to use the rack in jurisprudence, or to practice other enormities. They might much more justifiably put down slavery where it exists, than enforce a foreign slave code within their own bounds. Such is the impregnable principles which we of the free States should recognize and earnestly sustain.

A CHRISTIAN EXAMPLE.

The following was written by one of the best and most respectable citizens of Nantucket. It was first sent to the New Bedford Mercury, which refused publication; it was then offered to the Bulletin, and again rejected. It was at last published in the New Bedford Morning Register. In a free community, we should hardly think it worthy of thanks to publish a communication written with such perfect good sense and good temper; but considering the general servility of the press to slavery and its offspring prejudice, we do sincerely thank the editor of the Register, for giving the use of his columns.

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NEW BEDFORD AND TAUNTON RAILROAD.

As one of the stockholders in this road, I wish to call your attention to the proscription, which has been brought to bear upon the colored traveller. I have witnessed this spirit, occasionally, when I have been journeying in the public stages in Massachusetts; but in every case which has come under my observation, principle has finally triumphed over prejudice, and the applicant for a seat has always been permitted to take one within the stage; and in no instance has the acknowledgment of this right been attended by an unpleasant result. If I have been interested, in a number of cases, to secure for the colored traveller a place, where I was *not* a proprietor in the conveyance, how can I remain inactive, and send forth no remonstrance, when I find myself *a direct and positive participant*, in the aggressions which have been made upon the colored citizen, on the New Bedford and Taunton railroad.

The constitution of Massachusetts does not assign privileges, with reference to the color of the skin; why then should corporations professedly acting under legislative sanction, assume a discrimination which is not recognized by the social compact? It is so palpably in violation of *it*, even if we had no *higher* standard, that one would imagine it could not be tolerated for a moment by public sentiment; and yet, in a community as enlightened, perhaps, as any other in the State, aggravated cases of a *cruel* discrimination on account of color, occasionally present themselves; being a painful commentary upon the republicanism and Christianity of the people.

The prejudice against color is opposed to every precept and principle of the gospel; and it betrays a littleness of soul, to which, when it is rightly considered, an honorable mind can never descend. I remember hearing the venerable Wm. Rotch, deceased, describe a visit which he and some friends whom he accompanied, made to the house of Paul Cuffe. The dinner hour came, and the host, in view of the popular prejudice, was proceeding to seat the strangers, when the patriarch discovered that Paul and his family intended either to take a separate table, or come *after* their white guests. Said the interesting visitor—"Paul, I shall not take a place at thy table, unless thou and thy family seat yourselves with us." Was Wm. Rotch disgraced by this act? Rather, what a striking development of the true gentleman. And yet in this, he but exhibited the principle of common humanity. But if Paul Cuffe and Wm. Rotch were now with us, and were about to travel to Taunton, where would the regulations of the railroad company place the two individuals? The latter would take the former to the depot in his own carriage with him; but how would he be treated, if he took a place beside him, in the public railroad car? I forbear the answer to this interrogation.

I will, however, in this connection, call upon the corporation to reflect upon the principle which governs the directors of this road; to the end that it may lead to a reconsideration of the proscriptive character which it embraces.

How absurd, that the color of the skin should be the standard in estimating a man's privileges, either upon our public roads, or in any of our public institutions! How ignoble that it should be so! What? estimate character by the complexion!—Tolerate by your side a *degraded* white man, and thrust a respectable man of color out of the car!—and compel him either to relinquish his passage, or retreat to one less respectable, where he might be annoyed by practices prohibited in the first! Where, then, is our republicanism, our Christianity?

We talk of the colored man, and call him a degraded being. It were marvellous if he were otherwise. But there are cases where he has risen above the prejudices which are pressing him to the earth, and where he exhibits traits of character, which many of the privileged class might envy. *Men should be judged by the fruits they exhibit, and not by the texture of the hair, the color of the skin, or any of the mere accidents of life;* and the thought never entered my mind, when I advocated a liberal subscription to that road, among *our* citizens, that I was contributing to a structure where, in coming years, should be exhibited a cowardice and despotism, which I know the better feelings of the proprietors would, on reflection, repudiate.

The colored man can never be elevated, while our churches and Sabbath schools, our public schools, and other institutions of learning, our steamboats and railroads, &c. &c. &c. are so generally closed upon him; and I cannot withhold my share of influence, how small soever it may be, in endeavoring to change these anti-republican and anti-Christian practices. I would say—give him *more* than belongs to him, rather than *abridge* any of his inalienable rights and privileges.

I cannot conscientiously withdraw the little I invested, neither can I sell my share of the stock of this road, while the existing proscriptive character attaches to it; and with my present views and feelings, so long as the privileges of the traveller are suspended on one of the accidents of humanity, I should be recreant to every principle of propriety and justice, were I to receive aught of the price, which the directors attach to them. In the exclusion, therefore, by the established rules, of one equally entitled with myself to a seat, *I am excluded* from any share of the money, the profit of said infraction of right.

Having stated the position in which I find myself placed, and offered this appeal to the proprietors, with whom the responsibility rests, I feel satisfied to leave the subject, with simply expressing *a hope*, I had almost said *a conviction*, that through their instrumentality, an injustice, so palpable, will not much longer be a characteristic of the road.

Respectfully, &c.

NATHANIEL BARNEY.

Nantucket, 4th month 14, 1842.

A MOTHER SELLING HER CHILD AS A SLAVE.

A strange and revolting case came before one of the courts of Baltimore A colored girl, named Sally Jeffries, the daughter of a white woman, named Ann Conner, filed a petition for freedom against her mother, who had taken the girl to the house of a slave dealer in that city, and offered to dispose of her as a slave for life. It was shown that for some time the girl had been confined by desire of Ann Conner, in the custody of the dealer already referred to, until she was brought into court on Saturday. The mercenary mother pertinaciously claimed her *daughter* as her *slave*, and that the child was *given to her* by its own father, not denying that she was herself the girl's mother. The court desired her to acknowledge the freedom of her child by filing a response to the petition to that effect, or to give bail for her appearance to answer the charge of being the mother of the petitioner. To this decision she attempted to respond by saying she would acquiesce, if the court would make the girl go home with her and be her servant; she was not permitted to insult the court by adding more, and ordered to be removed. Shortly afterwards, she stated her willingness to file the acknowledgment, and the girl was released. She refused her mother's proposal to go home with her, and well she might.—*Balt. Sun.*

How is this mother "mercenary"? According to the creed of slavocracy, the free colored person at the South, is worse off, and more unhappy, than the slave. If this be true, then the conduct of the mother, instead of being unnatural and cruel, was very natural and humane; she was only carrying out in *practice* what she must have often heard contended for in *theory*. And, applying this criterion to the conduct of the court in releasing the girl, that tribunal better deserves the appellation of "mercenary." Are slavites, either in the North or South, prepared for these conclusions? If not, let us hear no more of the rank nonsense of southern slaves being better off than southern or northern colored freemen, however wretched our cruel prejudice may have made the latter.—*Liberator.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1842.

THE ANNIVERSARY.

This meeting was considered by all present, so far as we can ascertain, to have been one of the best we have had for years. Many who have been in a state of suspense, since the divisions among us, again fell into the ranks, as naturally as if no obstacle in the path had given us a jar, and unhitched a portion of the cars. All seemed to come together with increased faith in our principles, and renewed confidence of success. "It is long," said Ellis G. Loring," since I have attended a meeting where so much enthusiasm prevailed, with such excellent temper, and good feeling; such perfect harmony, and such unreserved willingness to give and to work."

It was a beautiful lesson in free discussion, to hear such diversity of opinion, uttered with perfect harmony and brotherly kindness. The number of the Society of Friends who were in attendance, and took active part in the proceedings, were very visibly increased. We rejoiced to observe this, both on our own account, and on theirs. We were glad to see the anti-slavery cause thus taking in ballast, while it put on the steam; and it was a pleasant indication that the old leaven was still at work among the Society of Friends; that they had not "vilely cast away their shield, as though they had never been anointed with oil;" that the spirit of George Fox still existed among them, and they were ready, like him, to stand by the truth, calmly indifferent to the excitement produced thereby.

The aaniversary meeting at the Tabernacle was spirited and interesting, and largely attended. Abont three thousand persons were supposed to be present. Meetings for business and discussion continued, at Concert Hall, for three succeeding days. The duties of the North, in relation to her continuance in the Union, was the prominent topic. It was discussed with great freedom; and earnestness sometimes rose to a most excellent indignation; but it was all done in the spirit of men, who approach an important question from conscientious considerations of duty, unmixed with personal or partisan motives. And here it may be well to correct a misapprehension, which has arisen in the minds of some. Never, for a single moment, has there been the slightest aversion to the fullest and freest discussion of the dissolution of the Union, in the columns of the Standard; nor has any member of the Executive Committee ever had the slightest objection to the most open and unchecked discussion on that subject in any of our meetings. We are not of those who fear to have *any* subject handled, provided it be done with good sense, and good feeling; and *this* question we have a peculiar right to discuss; because it relates to a guilty co-partnership with slavery. But individual *discussion* of it, as a preparation to understand our duty thereon, is very different from direct *operation* as a society. The idea of *society action* on this momentous subject startled many conscientious minds, who could not clearly see what *means* could be employed for that purpose, legitimately within the scope of moral influence. The impression was received by the public, that we were going to *change* our line of operations, and resolve ourselves into a society for the dissolution of the Union. This the committee knew was a false impression; and one which no individual among us *intended* to produce. They deemed it necessary to correct it; not merely because its consequences were likely to be dangerous; or even because it exposed our beloved cause to unneceessary suspicion and misapprehension; *but simply because it was not true.* It would be altogether without profit to expend time, in discussing whether the public had just ground for forming such an opinion. Language is a very imperfect medium of thought, and often conveys not only more or less than was intended, but sometimes delivers its errand quite contrary to that which was sent. The one sufficient fact is, that many honest minds *did* receive a false impression; and that it needed to be corrected.

The tone of our meetings implied an unanimous conviction that the North could not continue her present connection with the South, without being a direct partner in the guilt of slaveholding; and that our duty as individuals, and as a society, required us to use all moral means to deepen and strengthen this conviction. The prevailing wish evidently was, to keep what is good in the Union, and cast out the disturbing element; but there was, evidently enough, a fixed determination that the evil spirit *shall* be cast out, let him rend and tear as he may. Politicians and conservatives will smile at this, and point out the ridiculous disproportion between our will and our power. Let him laugh who wins!—The priesthood of Rome laughed at the twelve fishermen; and George III. and his courtiers laughed at a parcel of clowns and old women who would drink no tea. We abolitionists represent far greater numbers, than we count in our ranks. We tell the South, in a voice of friendly warning, that they have forced the reluctant North to calculate the value of the Union; they *are* calculating it, with ever-increasing activity; and purse and conscience are both rapidly leading to the same conclusion; viz: that the Union is not worth preserving, with the deadly incumbrance of slavery. The tables are already completely turned. For years and years, the South cried out for a dissolution of the Union, every time the least obstacle came in the way of her plans or wishes. As Charles Burleigh once said, "They kept that scarecrow in the fields, until the crows lighted on it." Then selfishness began to ask, "What do we *gain* by the Union? and how much should we *lose* by dissolving it?" Straightway Yankee 'cuteness went to work on the sum, and stood astonished at the product. Then came conscience, with her deep, earnest voice, and asked, "What are you upholding by this Union? A system of enormous wickedness and waste is directly sustained thereby; and on *your* shoulders rests the guilty burden." "Aye! aye!" responded selfishness; "the Swiss hirelings got their penny a day for slaughtering innocent strangers, according to contract; but we are a standing army for the South, finding our own pay and provisions."

Then came the Haverhill petition, and the "old man eloquent." And slavery shrieked aloud, "The Union is everything to us! Which way shall we turn, if the *North* forsake us?" To this the northern conscience listened with increased solemnity; for the lesson it conveyed was most significant.

Then public discussion was announced, with the probability of concentrated society action; and Judge Noah, of New-York, so well known for his allegiance to slavery, issued a document, indicating a degree of legal knowledge, of which that much-abused personification of weakness and ignorance, called an "old woman," might well be ashamed. From his charge to the Grand Jury of New-York, we extract the following:

"It is understood that an abolition convention is to be held in this city during the present month; and it has been announced in the official gazette, attached to the interests of the delegates about to assemble, that the question of repealing the Union between the North and the South will be openly discussed on that occasion. This has been in part contradicted, but coupled with a declaration that no violence shall prevent the discharge of their duty. It is possible that the objects and intentions of this convention may have been misrepresented; for it is difficult to believe that even fanaticism, carried to its fullest extent, could have the boldness to broach doctrines of the most treasonable import, in the midst of a population devotedly attached to the Union of the States. The people have an undoubted right to assemble and discuss any question connected with the maintenance of their own rights, and the preservation of our free institutions; but *it is unreasonable to suppose* that in any attempt to carry out the objects of this meeting, however ostensibly humane they may be, *that such convention will be permitted to suggest, much less discuss, a project embracing a dissolution of our happy form of government.*—Should the experiment, however, be made, which would evidently tend to a disastrous breach of the public peace, it will be your duty to present the agitators, and indict every person whose active agency may lead to such results; and this court, by the rigid enforcement of the laws, will convince any body of men, making this city the theatre of their deliberations, that their object and intentions must be strictly legal, rational and justifiable."

This would be a free country, indeed, if people could not peaceably discuss changes in their government, without being arrested for treason! Isaac T. Hopper gave one of the jury information that he should be present at the discussion, and asked, as a particular favor, that he might be the individual arrested; he promised to employ no lawyer, choosing to plead his own cause.

But powerless as this absurd document fell, so far as enforcing *law* was concerned, it might summon a mob; a purpose for which it was well adapted. Professing to have the fear of this before his eyes, David Hale, of the Journal of Commerce, wished to annul the contract, by which we claimed the use of Broadway Tabernacle.—Subsequently, he availed himself of another excuse. He discovered, to his astonishment and mortification, that L. M. Child stood for L. Maria Child; and he had thus unconsciously committed the awful impropriety of letting the Tabernacle to a society, whose recording secretary was a woman! For sincere religious opinions, however bigoted, our committee have the utmost respect; but not being able to find that St. Paul said a syllable about women's being recording secretaries, either with or without veils, they concluded that perhaps Mr. Hale wanted to get a higher price for the building; and therefore went in pursuit of another, which had been obtained, when Lewis Tappan kindly secured for us the use of the Tabernacle; for which we return our sincere thanks.

The Herald and the Courier and Enquirer, as usual, did their worst to summon a mob. The mayor was waited upon by one of our committee, whom he received with the most manly politeness; and willingly gave assurance that, so far as he could prevent it, freedom of discussion should never be violated in the person of any peaceable citizen.

That a great change has gone over public opinion within a few years, is indicated, by the fact that the mob were earnestly summoned *in vain!* A few rowdies did indeed bring in some bags of flour, to effect their favorite purpose of "whitening the niggers;" a purpose which they are helping to effect in more ways than one. The police officers signified to them that they were out of place, and they retired with their flour. When the steamboat, filled with our returning delegates, was about leaving the city, some five or six Rip Van Damns collected on the wharf, with six-pence worth of white paint to "whiten the niggers;" not being patient enough to wait for the gradual process of their own vices. Each of them had an egg. We presume they were addled; (the *eggs* we mean) for, as one of our agents wittily observed, "Southern bankruptcy has not left northerners *money* enough to buy *sound* eggs to pelt anti-slavery." The last we saw of our friend, Wendell Phillips, an egg whizzed past his noble countenance, and hit somewhere in the crowd; upon which Falstaff's army on the wharf shouted, "White niggers!" "White niggers!" and so marched off, swearing, with their wonderful witticism of six-pence worth of white paint; which it is to be hoped Judge Noah and the editor of the Herald paid for.

One circumstance was a subject of regret to every individual of the society; and that was the absence of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. It was an over-scrupulous delicacy that made him feel his presence might be said to influence the character of our meeting. Those who know him, are well aware that the world does not contain a more consistent advocate for freedom of discussion, or one more scrupulous to preserve an open field for the opinions of others. His clear, moral perceptions, and unbending integrity, might have been of great use to us all; while a slight difference of opinion (if any existed) could not, by any possibility, have interfered with individual freedom. The hearts of the society, and of its committee, trust in him, as the heart of a man trusts in a tried and true brother. Strangers may misconceive his character, and distrust his motives; but because we *know* him, we give him our unreserved confidence and respect; and ever feel the need of him in our deliberations.

Much regret was expressed that our highly-esteemed friends, N. P. Rogers and S. J. May, were prevented, by indisposition, from attending the annual meeting.—L. M. C.

CALEB CUSHING.

We give, in the pro-slavery column, a letter from Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, which we find translated in the National Intelligencer. *It was written in French*, and published in *Les Courrier des Etats Unis*, the French paper of New-York; which ushers it in with remarks laying great stress on the circumstance that Mr. Cushing is a conspicuous member of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and therefore not likely to have written such a letter without a motive. Abundant compliments are bestowed on the character, talents, and standing of the writer; and the article receives the doubtful praise of being "*wholly French in sentiment and language.*" It adds comments at length, and adds, "France alone will resist British ambition, and alone enjoy the glory of defending the rights of America and Europe."

The New-York American says:

We are amazingly edified with this discovery of Mr. Caleb Cushing, that Great Britain sets up the pretension "to seize, detain, send in and try, any merchant vessel suspected of the slave trade."

Lord Aberdeen, to be sure, declares explicitly that Great Britain renounces all pretension to visit or examine American vessels—as, indeed, Mr. Caleb Cushing, after exhausting proofs in support of what he says is the English claim, finally admits; and adds, "As regards the United States, Lord Aberdeen has done away all subject of complaint."

Upon this the French editor, very naturally and pointedly, remarks, that "the warlike peroration of Mr. Cushing is sufficiently misplaced, after the declaration he makes, that, as regards the United States, Lord Aberdeen had done away all cause of complaint. What are your threats about, if it be true, for you Americans, that the sea is still free?" A question, we apprehend, more easily asked than answered.

It is a singular specimen of consistency that this Caleb Cushing is the very man who denounced Giddings's resolutions as almost amounting to moral treason, because they took ground against the country, on points *in controversy with a foreign nation.* Yet here he is playing the bravo toward England, now under the consideration of the United States, and a special embassy from Great Britain!

Thus we have Cass, and Robert Walsh, the hired correspondent of a pro-slavery press, in Paris, to excite hatred against England, and instill into the popular mind suspicions of base designs in her anti-slavery movements; and here we have a member of Congress from Massachusetts, managing the other end of the rope, on this side the Atlantic. In addition to which we have a whole chorus of editors, with the Globe at their head, endeavoring to prove that an anti-slavery conference in London is a disguised plot against the liberties of America; all out of British hatred to our purely democratic institutions; and that American abolitionists are in league for the same purpose. Let abolitionists learn activity of the slaveholders.

DUE CREDIT.

In the Standard of May 5th, we mentioned that Mr. Weller, of Ohio, presented certain resolutions, from a few members of the democratic party, *condemning* the course of J. R. Giddings. We should have stated that he moved a suspension of the rules, to enable him to present them; and that the House would not consent; only thirty-seven voting for the suspension. We take pains to correct the mistake, being well pleased to record any instance of impartiality that may occur in Congress.

Coincidence.—On the same day that the abolitionists met to dissolve the Union, (according to New-York papers,) the great race between the North and the South occurred. *Gibbons's* horse run for the North, and beat. Rumor states that the South lost $300,000 on this famous horse race. Will they go home and whip it out of their negroes?

No Great Mistake.—A southern Whig paper runs up the Henry Clay flag for the presidency, and, by a misprint, says, "it will be subject to the *derision* of the people." One thing is certain, when a slaveholder is set up to preside over the free institutions of a republic, he *ought* to be subject to the derision of the people, as well as those who nominate and vote for him.

☞ The Treasurer acknowledges the receipt of $5 00 from sundry individuals in Stevens village and McIndoes Falls, Vt. for the benefit of the "Mendians."

He has also received from Luther Goding, Acton, Me. $3 for the use of Hiram Wilson, of Upper Canada.

AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The ninth anniversary of this society was held at Broadway Tabernacle, New-York, Tuesday, May 10th, 1842; commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by James S. Gibbons. In the absence of Lindley Coates, the President, James C. Fuller, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.—He observed that every one would know, from his dress, that his own views of stated seasons of prayer, precluded his appointing any one to open the meeting with prayer; but a free opportunity was left for any one who felt so inclined.

The 3d chapter of Micah was read by Joseph Jewett, of Providence, R. I.; and prayer was offered by Francis Hawley and John M. Spear, both clergymen.

The Annual Report was read, accepted, and laid on the table.

An abstract of the Treasurer's Report was read, accepted, and laid on the table. The Report showed that the receipts of the society, during the past year, had been $10,081 67, and the disbursements $9,700; leaving a balance of $381 67 in the treasury.

Charles C. Burleigh offered the following resolution, which was sustained by him at some length, in his usual ability and animation:

Resolved, That the anti-slavery enterprise is, in its principles, its doctrines, and its measures, nothing else than the practical application of Christianity to the subject of slavery.

"We have engaged," said he, "in an enterprise which is based on eternal truth, and involving those principles of right which lie at the foundation of Christinnity. If not technically a Christian enterprise, it is so, merely because it does not propose to itself *all* the objects to which Christianity has a relation. So far as it goes—to the extent of the principles it puts forth, they are the principles of Christianity. It is religion applied to a specific object. Our purpose is to carry out the principles of Christianity, and apply them to slavery. It may be that there are those who engage with us, whose assent to the principles of the gospel has never been given—but it is because the right of these principles is so clear and palpable, that he who is in darkness in other respects, can see light here; and he who is not ready to admit the application of these principles universally, cannot deny them on this subject.

What are the principles of Christianity? If we have read them aright—If we have apprehended the teachings of its Author, they are those of the universal brotherhood of man—that God is the common Father of all—that he has made all of one blood—gifted all with the same rights—and placed before all the same hopes. This common relation to God and to one another—this equality in all the essential attributes and privileges of all—this constitutes the glory of the gospel. Christianity is democracy, in the highest sense of the word. Whatever will sustain the principles of the one, cannot be withheld from the advocacy of the other. There is no other foundation upon which the structure of Christianity can rest. Deny the essential equality of men—reject the doctrine of a common brotherhood between man and man—and that cardinal commandment of the gospel, to love another as ourselves, becomes not only arbitrary, but unjust. Admit this equality, and the rights of a common parentage, and the command appears natural, and necessarily evolved from the very relationship which we bear to others. Then it appears to be founded in the very nature of things—and is but the development of that principle, the obligation of which is inwrought into the very elements of our moral being. Thus every principle embraced in the anti-slavery creed is nothing but a principle of Christianity, applied to a particular subject; and every doctrine which is derived from these principles, is not only sanctioned by, but is part and parcel of the doctrines of the gospel.

I spend no time in sustaining, by specific quotations of the sacred word, these views, or to prove from the example of the founder of Christianity, their identity with the system He promulgated. I need not follow His career to witness the incessant, practical acknowlegment of the great truth of man's equality, in His intercourse with the race.

If such are the principles of Christianity, their application to the subject before us is easy and direct. Slavery is at war with this principle of brotherhood which Christianity recognizes and affirms. Slavery denies that all men have equal rights and equal privileges—that they are the children of the same benevolent and impartially loving Parent. Slavery says that one shall not enjoy that which is bestowed upon another. While Christianity says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and that no respect shall be had of persons, slavery comes forward to make such broad and impassable distinctions as to thrust off one portion of the race from all the rights of creatures and the dignities of men—and to convert part into the very property of the rest. Such is the assumption of slavery—made not in the moment of excitement, or by the unauthorized usurpations of individuals, but by solemn act, and systematic avowal. The slave code—the instrument which gives it system and power—confers proprietorship of the slave upon the master. All that he may do, or possess, or acquire, is not his own, but the master's.

Upon its own testimony, slavery is the most monstrous embodiment of the spirit of selfishness the world ever saw. What definition can we give of selfishness—what idea can we form of that spirit to which the gospel is utterly and entirely opposed, that is not embraced in slavery? So far from doing to the slave what he would exact for himself, he takes from him all that he has—nay, takes him from himself—and cr

mediate emancipation flows, as a necessary inference, from the position that slavery is wrong.

We urge, too, the doctrine of expediency. Whatever is right, is expedient. We stop not to estimate the moral and pecuniary benefits of emancipation. These are apparent and forcible enough; but we take our stand back of them all. If it is right, it is expedient. Whatever is in accordance with the divine will, is the highest expediency—not merely because the promise of God is pledged to its safety and success; but because, in the nature of things, what is opposed to the will of God, must be opposed to the arrangements of the providence of God. His plans and His purposes coincide. He who opposes the will of God, opposeth Him who ordereth all things, and in whose hands is the disposition of events. Not until he can stay the courses of the stars, and standing in the face of Omnipotence, to bend it to his bidding, can any one insure the success of a thing to which the will of God is opposed.

How then can we help opposing slavery? It flows from the very love and obedience to God. He who does not carry out his principles, is false to them. If principles are not applied, they have no value.

Our measures we design to have accord with our principles and doctrines. Here is the evil, frowning menacingly and fearfully before us—how shall it be vanquished? There are two ways; by physical force, or by moral power. We may take arms against it, and drown it in the blood of battles; or we may destroy it by means of the voluntary co-operation of those to whom it owes its existence. Which of the two we desire, is well known. We wish no warlike crusade. We would not, if we could, knock off the fetters of the slave, by the bayonet and the sword. We are in favor of a free abolition—acting not *against* the will, but by and through the will of the slaveholder. We seek, by the motives and persuasions of truth, to induce his voluntary abandonment of wrong. We would change his heart, as well as reform his life. Our measures are such as are adapted to the attainment of this end. As we seek the heart, we take means of reaching the heart. All our efforts are to disseminate the truth. If we pour forth like water our publications, it is to diffuse the truth. If we petition our legislators, it is to bring before them the truth. If we agitate the nations with appeals, and warnings, and arguments, it is that they may perceive the truth. Our measures are only the carrying out of our principles. We cannot be idle. Both the command and the example of the Master forbids our inactivity. Christianity is an impulsive principle. It demands activity. It does not allow us to wrap ourselves in philosophic indifference, or waste ourselves in mere speculation. It requires and prompts to labor. It places us in, and prepares us for a warfare. We are to be clad in its armor—having on the helmet of salvation; implying that there must be exposure to the blows—the shield of faith, to quench the fiery darts of the wicked; implying that the darts must be encountered. He that will quarrel with our principles, or doctrines, or measures, quarrels not with us, but with the gospel of Christ. We are only believing, acting, and living it, when with invincible firmness we resolve upon and strive to compass the overthrow of that, which of all things most radically opposes its spirit and counteracts its blessed designs."

Wendell Phillips moved the following resolution, and sustained it by an able and eloquent speech, uttered in most excellent temper. It was adopted with only one dissenting voice; a stranger from the lunatic asylum, who had found his way into the house:

Resolved, That the system of slavery pre-eminently deserves the name of "THE AMERICAN SYSTEM;" that though, as a matter of local distinction, the epithet *Southern* may be justified, yet *American* slavery is the true name of an institution which arrogates to herself the whole of the patronage of the nation, and holds in her hand the helm and vessel of State.

"To sustain his position," said Mr. Phillips, "I feel called upon to answer the question, What has the North to do with slavery? And I believe it can be easily and truly shown, as has been before remarked by another, that if the South holds within her bosom the slave *master*, the bosom of the North has also within it the slave *holder*.

In my view, the southern slaves are retained in the condition of bondage only in obedience to the national will; and as soon as the nation, as a nation—and as soon as the Christian Church of this country as a church, rise up in their strength, and power, and moral greatness, and declare that slavery shall cease, that moment slavery will cease; and its abolition might take place to-morrow.

If this be the fact, how red is the blood upon our skirts, and how deep is the dye of the guilt of those who do not make the removal of this sin and curse a part of their continual effort. But let us open our own bosoms, and then ask ourselves what have been our own relations to this American system of wrong and oppression; let us open our own bosoms and ask ourselves by whom is slavery sustained. It is by the phalanx of the strength of numbers—by the force of public opinion—by the voice of the intelligent and the virtuous—by the voice of the Church—by the consent of Christians—by the legislation of the country, and by our national policy. And hence, when all these things are combined to characterize slavery as a national system, we are justified in adopting the resolution that it well deserves to be called the American system.

Were I to appeal to the sufferer of the countless wrongs under this American system, I might ask the fugitive who makes his way across these States to find a shelter on the northern side of the line which divides our country from that of Queen Victoria, whether he feels that he is safe until he reaches that land of his fondest hope. If it were not for this, would not his bosom have conceived the thought of insurrection, in order that he might obtain the priceless boon which he was born to enjoy? Look at the District, ten miles square, and then answer whether we are not as a *nation* involved in this system of slavery; and if it is really the corner-stone of our republican institutions, as it has been called, then indeed is our hand upon the temple.

But look at the course of policy which has been pursued ever since the adoption of the Constitution, in 1789. The framers of that instrument, and this government have undertaken to inquire into the color of men; and it has proscribed colored men from joining in the militia, from carrying the mail, and from enjoying the privileges of citizens in other respects. And how did we do it? How did we thus draw the line of distinction between those who were white and those of another color, whose blood flowed freely in the revolutionary struggle? We rose up from our battles in which the God of freedom had favored us with victory, and we rose up from our knees where we had been thanking God for the success which he had graciously given to us, and we came out of the conflict in which the blood of the colored men, as on the 5th of March, 1770, had been freely poured out to secure us our liberties—[applause. Does the mention of this fact cheer you? Look again at the battle of Forlorn Hope, in Rhode Island—] we came out, and made a national shield which was not broad enough to cover the colored man; but we condemned him to insult, to the loss of his highest rights, to subjection and oppression because he was not like ourselves.

But what further has been the course of this government in relation to the slave interest? Look at its efforts in regard to the recapture of fugitive slaves, and at the character of its diplomacy.

I would be within the truth, were I to say that if the archives at London were to be examined, they would show that every single year some attempt has been made to sustain the slave system. Who can think of Daniel Webster, whose splendid intellect was roused to its mightiest action, when his soul was drawn out in sympathy for the Greeks, but will recollect the declaration he then made, that we are in favor of free institutions.

When we presented ourselves before the sisterhood of nations, we were bound, by all those principles which called upon us to break our own bands, to stand up in the defense of the rights of man; but when the choral song of humanity was sung, and was ringing amid the earth, and when the gentle flow of its softest music coursed through every heart, who then broke its harmony? Who now is called upon to destroy the union and concord of nations to the tune of liberty? It is Mr. Cass, who is obliged to refuse to enter into the national agreement for the abolition of the slave trade. It is enough to condemn any man with all who have the honor and the pride of their country at heart. I speak not of him as a man—but as a representative, whose actions have become public property, and upon which all may express their opinion. When the quintuple treaty was signed in France, who was it that refused to agree to its provisions? Was it Constantinople, whose slave marts are filled with human beings? Was it Algiers? No; but the refusal comes from the American minister, who represents the boasted republic of the New World—whose vaunted freedom sounds throughout the civilized globe. And he is not sufficient, but Mr. Wheaton, from a northern court also makes his appearance to hold up the arm of slaveholding power; and the result and the stand taken by them is published not only in French, the language of diplomacy, but in English, that it may go over the length and breadth of the European continent.

There stands now at the court of St. James, a man whose first act will be to declare that the Constitution and the laws of this country uphold slavery, and sanction the principle of slave law; and before Mr. Everett could be sent on his mission, it must be well understood that he was determined to support the interests of the slave system.

The legislature of his own State was obliged to sit silent while the legislature of Mississippi added another insult to the long catalogue, by condemning the selection of such a man.

Look at another instance. What has been our conduct in reference to Hayti and Texas? Hayti, which is free, and has won her independence by a struggle which was as glorious and as noble as any contest which ever yet took place upon the earth, and which has raised her unsullied front for the last forty years, is yet accounted by us as unworthy to be welcomed among the sisterhood of nations. One distinguished man has remarked that he hoped her independence would not be acknowledged by this government until Time grows old, and shakes his hoary locks over the ruin of all things. That is the way in which we treat freedom in a black skin; but how do we treat slavery in a white skin? Our Senate, with indecorous haste at the deep hour of midnight, proffered to Texas the right hand of fellowship, and greets that nation as one of the republics of the Western World!

The slave is represented in the Congress of this country; but he is represented while he exercises no will in the case. Out of fourteen elections for the President, three have resulted in the choice of northern men. The North has furnished the Secretary of State but three times since 1800, and many other of our highest offices have been occupied almost exclusively by southern men. And in this way, by this continual election of the most honorable stations in the country as the posts to be occupied by southern men, do the minority govern in the national councils. The greatest number of our diplomatists are southern men; but does she pour out her treasure in defense of the country and the promotion of her interests? No; and it is a historical fact that for, every dollar which the South contributed to carry on the revolutionary war, eleven were given by the northern States. Sir, I speak warmly, for I am ashamed of my country as an American. I recolleet when I was at Genoa, that I saw our beautiful national frigate, the Ohio, resting on the bosom of the placid waters of the harbor, and saw her towering masts; and when I heard of the correspondence between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Stevenson, I felt that the frigate would have to put on her finest apparel, and wake her dormant thunders to assist in the support of the slave trade.

Then look at the Creole, where those noble-minded and devoted sufferers resolved on gaining their freedom—for it afforded a beautiful instance of those principles which reach far beyond our revolutionary struggle, and finds no parallel, except that of the Swiss carrying away their enemies to the confines of Helvetia, and then leaving them in peace. But how has the government treated it? As if it had been incorporated into international law, that all fugitives must be surrendered; and we cannot too much rejoice over that noble act of the British authorities, which found in them the subjects of their law, and the fit recipients of the blessings of freedom.

Mr. Phillips spoke of the history of the free States, of Indiana, of Rhode Island, of Ohio. We see in the unrighteous legislation of those States, the evidences that slavery is a national sin; and in the atrocious code of Ohio, by which if a famished man should come to your doors and ask for bread, you subject yourself to the infliction of summary punishment; he pointed out an exhibition of that subservient homage to the slave interest which must indelibly stamp it with the character of a national sin, and a national system.

Let us ask ourselves whether our voice is to be given in the support of a system which involves the compromise of all that is just, and the sacrifice of all that is benevolent and humane.

The system is a system arrogating to itself all the power, and all the dignity, and all the patronage of the country. In presuming this to be its character, I too may seem to be arrogant; but to defend myself from the charge, I would quote the words of Henry Clay, when he said that "the South has no right to claim the assistance of the North; she has no right to make the North the slave of slaves." And if there is one word of truth—one single sentence ever been published in this country since the adoption of the Constitution which contains truth, it is this."

George Bradburn addressed the meeting carrying out Mr. Phillips's strain of reasoning, but not confining himself strictly to any point of order. His remarks, as usual, abounded with anecdotes and witticisms, which kept the house convulsed with laughter. No report can give the least idea of his amusing style of speaking; for half the fun lies in the comical gravity of the tone and manner, and the half-suppressed mirth that mantles all over his fine countenance. A thousand sportive Pucks, ready armed for mischief and keen encounter, seem forever lurking in the glance of his eye, the lines of his lip, and the motion of his muscles. One sees at a single look that Jeremiah himself could not have helped being mirthful with him, had they met on a barren hearth, in a midnight storm. From his abundant store of anecdotes the following was told to illustrate the independence of our northern representatives in Congress. "While they are down there in Washington," says he, "they are very ready to strike under to the slaveholders; but when they get home, they begin to talk very big about infringement of northern rights——especially about election time. They shake hands with everybody, and are very particular to ask how you do, and how your wives do. They talk in the bravest style about the rascalities of the South, and the insolence of southern members of Congress. But down there in Washington they have other business on hand. Their conduct reminds me of a dispute between a good woman (or bad woman, whichever you please to call her) and her husband. Good or bad, she gained the victory over her worser half, as women are wont to do; and he was fain to retreat under the bed, to hide from her fury. Secured by this safe entrenchment, he ventured to continue his argument. "Be silent, you villain!" said she "No!" exclaimed he, with becoming indignation: "While I have the spirit of a *man*, I never will hold my tongue!"

"I agree with the position so eloquently maintained by the gentleman from Massachusetts. The South *does* control the North. 'Honest John Davis,' (and who will not take the declaration of an honest man?) has declared that the slave interest has the control over the laws and policy of this country; for in obedience to the commands of the slaveholders, we have enchained 8,000 human beings in the District of Columbia; we have placed the stamp of slavery upon their brow, and branded them as the chattels of the people of that district. We have thrown the shield of protection around the domestic slave trade. A freeman of Ohio has been censured by the vote of our modern democrats, for doing his duty; and in our legislation, our diplomacy, and our policy, we are all made to bow to the dictates of the slaveholding interest.

I rejoice that the Governor of New-York has so much intelligence and patriotism, as not to submit to the dictation of these modern democrats, who would fain call themselves descendants of such men as Washington and Warren, and the host of democrats of the old school, who knew what democracy really was, and who determined to maintain it. Their conduct seems to me to resemble the commentary of an old woman on the Epistle of Paul to Timothy. She was a parishioner of Bishop Seabury; and one day the good Bishop called on her, and was asked what Paul could mean by telling Timothy to drink no *longer water?* 'Why,' he answered, 'he should not drink water any longer, but take a little wine for his stomach's sake." "I don't believe it;" she replied, "Paul told Timothy to drink no *longer water*; and you ministers wring and twist the scriptures to suit your own meaning.' And so it appears to me that these same wise democrats have at last discovered a commentary upon the Constitution, which affords a just parallel to the old woman's interpretation of the *longer water*.

But if we should be involved in a war, we should be obliged to expend an almost countless sum in carrying it on; and the South has very politely informed us, that if we will furnish the *men*, she will furnish the *officers*; and the expenses may come out of the pockets of those who have the money. Not satisfied, however, with requiring us to support the American slave trade, we are also called upon to support the African, and to let the stripes and stars of our boasted Republic float unfurled to the breeze, at the mast-head of every pirate craft which is engaged in the nefarious traffic. This is what Mr. Stevenson has been commissioned to enforce; this is the claim which our minister at the Court of St. James is obliged to sustain; and although my eloquent friend from Massachusetts has so forcibly presented the relations of our diplomatists to this subject, we could not well, under existing circumstances, be represented abroad by men of any other character. We are as a nation committed in defense of slavery; and we could not, under present circumstances, be truly and consistently represented in European courts, by any but those identified with slaveholding interests. Mr. Stevenson was the right minister, and President Tyler should never have permitted his return. A fellow in one of the legislatures some years since, was in the habit of intoxication to such an extent, that he was scarcely ever sober, even when he filled his place in the body to which he belonged; and some of his fellow-members asked him why his constituents had not sent a man who was more worthy of such a trust, instead of himself. 'Why, truly,' he answered, 'if they had not sent me, they would not have been fairly represented;' and as this same principle of faithful representation, I am in favor of letting all our ministers to foreign courts be chosen by and from the slaveholding interests.

But why is it that we must not let our flag be invaded, in order to assist in putting a stop to the slave trade?—Why, Uncle Sam's dignity must not be touched! Uncle Sam has so much dignity, that he will not suffer any one to inquire who is sailing under his colors. Uncle Sam will be satisfied with nothing short of giving his dignity, and his power, and his name, to the support of a trade which is at war with every principle of humanity and justice, and is determined to let foreign nations know it.

But what do you think of giving way to the wishes of the South? If a war should come, what think you of supporting the slave interest by your blood, and your treasure? I have sometimes been disposed to wish that a war might come, in order to show to the people of the North what is their real connection with slavery. I might more properly say, one or two *more* wars; for we have had one already, which has called into its support the national treasury, and the national character, and the national responsibility. The Florida war cost us $50,000,000, for the sole benefit of the southern slaveholder; whilst not a man, woman, or child of the free States has the least interest in it. The South are also struggling to give the fruits of that victory, and our enterprise, to that nest of plundering pirates, the Texans. Henry A. Wise was so full of valor about Texas, the other day, that he was almost ready to start for Mexico immediately. Henry A. Wise! Henry A. Folly he ought to be called! But Mr. Adams answered him completely, when he compared him to Tom Thumb. Our government permits arms and men by ship-loads to go to support slavery in Texas. Then there is Hamilton, an American citizen, offering to bribe and corrupt Santa Ana to sell part of his territory. Then there is a Bernard Bee, or a Bumble Bee, and he'd reap but little honey in Texas. Then there's Daniel Webster, the godlike, writes a long letter, to demand those young slaveholders that were caught in the Santa Fé plundering expedition. Then there was Caleb Cushing; the slaveholders have got him all to themselves now. The abolitionists were foolish enough to help him into Congress; but that was effected principally by the help of some letters which his wife had tact and talent enough to write, and which he had not. Yet that same young democratic-whig-Harrison-and-Tyler-too politician, was indignant that these citizens should be imprisoned in Mexico, but never lisped a syllable for the black citizens that were imprisoned all over the country. (Cheers.) Daniel Webster, the godlike, found this the most difficult question he had ever handled. He wrote word to Santa Ana, that these young slaveholders, caught with the thieves in the Santa Fé expedition, were very nice young men, who were only traveling there for the benefit of their health. (Cheers and laughter.) 'Oh, but,' says Santa Ana, 'I found them in company with my enemies.' 'True,' says the godlike; 'but they were of a very melancholy temperament, and didn't like to travel alone.' 'Yes,' says Santa Ana, 'but I found them with rifles in their hands, and bullets in their breeches pockets.' (Cheers and laughter.) 'That may be,' said the godlike, 'but they were fond of game;' (as the godlike himself is well known to be,) 'and were afraid of the wolves and wild beasts in Texas.' And with such paltry excuses, Daniel Webster disgraced himself and his country, particularly the North, by writing such a paltry letter. The fact is, that like the poor dog, Tray, they were caught in confoundedly bad company, and they ought to have been whipped as soundly and severely as the poor dog was. For I'd be bound that the company that poor Tray was found with, were noble, generous, chivalrous gentlemen, compared with those dogs and beasts that Mr. Kendall and the other slaveholders were found with. I don't think it needs any such a system as that of Christianity to put down slavery. For there's not a tiger, or a wolf, or a wild beast of any kind, on the coast of Africa, that hasn't feeling enough to hate slavery. Our clergy, too, are corrupt. They sell the souls and bodies of their black countrymen into eternal bondage, under the pretext of saving the souls of the heathen on the other side of the water. If the clergy of this country were not corrupt, and did not support slavery, it could not stand. Much has been said about purifying politicians. In 1840, when hard cider, and coonskins, and log-cabins, and hickory-clubs flourished over us and were all the rage, the godlike Daniel boasted that he was the son of a working man—born in a log-cabin—or at least in sight of one. (Cheers and laughter.) And yet he and Isaac Hill sat still and heard Calhoun abuse the working men of the North, and never said a word in their defense. (Cheers.) 'And yet these members of Congress, when they come North, *just before an election*, are particularly attached to the North. (Laughter.)

Well, to conclude, here's the Great Irish Address before me, (pointing to the great roll on the desk,) with the names of Daniel O'Connell, Father Matthew, and 60,000 others, calling upon the Irishmen in this country to be true to their principles and their friends, and to stand by the abolitionists of America. (Cheers.) And the Irish Daniel needs less said in his defense than the American Daniel. (Cheers.) He interfered in this matter from pure principle. A great many men in this country had assisted him in his repeal association, to dissolve the union of the British empire. A great many slaveholders joined in this, too. Among others, Richard M. Johnson made a speech in favor of this project, and said that we had a right to do so. And whatever we may think of Richard M. Johnson's taste in matrimonial matters, at any rate, he's good authority in this. Well, we slaveholding Americans had a sympathy with O'Connell, in seeking to dissolve a union that is virtually the same as ours; and, therefore, he had a sympathy with us, and took this means to show it. And, whatever our other differences may be, I hope we shall all be true to our principles, and carry them out."

The Meeting adjourned to Concert Hall, 4 o'clock, P. M.

The society again convened on Tuesday, P. M. according to adjournment; James C. Fuller, presiding.

George Foster and Anne Warren Weston, were appointed secretaries.

The business committee were appointed as follows:

Wendell Phillips; Abby Kelly; Charles C. Burleigh; Mary Springstead; John Brown; Edmund Quincy; Samuel Reese; Charles L. Remond; Henry C. Wright, Thomas Earle.

The following resolution was offered:

Resolved, That while we highly appreciate the manly defense, by John Q. Adams, of the right of petition for every man in our country, we cannot but regret that he has not extended the same support to the far more valuable rights of humanity and personal freedom.

S. S. Foster moved to strike out the word regret, and insert, we cannot but *condemn* him that he has not, &c. After discussion by C. C. Burleigh, Thomas Earle, Geo. Bradburn, G. W. F. Mellen, Rodney French, and —— Longshore. The resolution was laid on the table.

The meeting adjourned to Wednesday, 9 o'clock, A. M.

The society met pursuant to adjournment; J. C. Fuller in the chair. After a season of silence, the following resolution was taken up and unanimously adopted, after several short speeches sustaining it:

Resolved, That we do most cordially approve and admire the zealous and unflinching course pursued by Joshua R. Giddings, while sustaining in Congress the right of petition, and freedom of speech, alike for the representative and his constituents, and of universal liberty for the human race.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, the resolution was ordered to be communicated by the secretaries to Mr. Giddings.

The following resolution was then taken up:

Resolved, That it be recommended to voting abolitionists to submit the following question to all candidates for legislative office; viz. Are you favorable to the abrogation of *every* provision of the Constitution and laws of the Union, and of the State, which may in any manner require the aid of the people, or their public agents to the holding of human beings in slavery?

S. S. Foster opposed it, on the ground that we had no right, as an Anti-Slavery Society to say that it was right either for a man to vote, or not vote. The resolution was supported by C. C. Burleigh, Thomas Earle, E. G. Loring, Rodney French, Thomas Van Rensselaer, and Frederic Douglas; and adopted with one dissenting voice.

Abby Kelly offered the following resolution, and spoke in its behalf:

Resolved, That a committee of forty be appointed, (one or more from each State represented) for the purpose of reporting on the sphere of operations, duties, and amount of funds, requisite to carry on the operations of this society, for the coming year.

The resolution was adopted, and a committee of forty oppointed; Ellis Gray Loring, chairman.

The three following resolutions were taken up, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That inasmuch as no constitutional or legal provisions can ever justify a violation of the first principles of religion and morality, therefore no man can rightfully lend his aid to the enslaving of his fellow being, or to the returning of them into slavery.

Resolved that no possible circumstances can justify any State in this Union, either in maintaining slavery within its own limits, or in interfering with the internal concerns of any other States, in such manner as to aid in keeping any portion of its inhabitants in slavery at home, or in preventing them from escaping from the land of their servitude.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the Union ought to be altered so as to prevent the national government from sustaining slavery, as well as from requiring the people of the several States to sustain it.

The following resolution was offered:

Resolved, That inasmuch as the people of the northern States have been guilty, jointly with the South, of enslaving men; and inasmuch as the people of the northern States in general, nor even the mass of the abolitionists, have ever petitioned for the abrogation of the slaveholding features of the Constitution, nor proved that such petitions, if supported by the free States, would be unsuccessful, therefore we see no reasonable ground at this time for asking for a dissolution of the Union.

Henry C. Wright moved to strike out all after the word resolved, and substitute the following:

Resolved, That the provisions of the United States Constitution in relation to slavery, and the history of our government, which shows that free and slave institutions cannot exist distinct and independent under the same constitution, both prove that fidelity to our principles as abolitionists, and to the cause of human rights, imperatively demands the dissolution of the American Union.

Seconded by Edmund Quincy. H. C. Wright sustained his resolution in characteristic style. Ellis Gray Loring opposed, on the ground that much good had been effected by the Union, and might still be, if we could but get the bad element of slavery out of it; and this he believed could be done by the persevering efforts to purify public sentiment. If his fathers had entered into a treaty with the Turks, beneficial in its general character, but containing a clause that required us to aid in keeping the Greeks enslaved, he would earnestly demand the abrogation of *that article*. If the Turks refused, he would say, "Very well—repeal it or not, we shall pay no regard to it; under all possible circumstances, it is to us null and void." Mr. Loring continued his remarks at considerable length, with characteristic clearness, and ability.

Isaac T. Hopper said a few words against H. C. Wright's proposition. He had no objection whatever to the freest and boldest *discussion* on this important subject; but he could not conceive of any direct *action* for the dissolution of the Union that came legitimately within our province as an Anti-Slavery Society. He then alluded to the great need of caution on this subject, involving as it might the fearful calamity of civil war.

J. C. Morrell, and Rodney French, both spoke in opposition to H. C. Wright's resolution. Abby Kelley sustained it.

The meeting adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

The discussion of the dissolution of the Union was resumed at the afternoon session. Thomas Earle opposed H. C. Wright's resolution, on the ground that abolitionists had by no means yet done all they could to cast out the disturbing element from their free institutions; that the free States could much more effectually influence the South by remaining in the Union, true to their own principles of liberty. He likewise compared the federative compact to a treaty, with certain bad clauses in it; and those could be repealed at much less expense and with more certainty of beneficial result to all classes, than by a dissolution of the Union. Mr. Earle's speech was full of vigorous, well-arranged thought, and marked by great clearness of argument.

James McCune Smith opposed H. C. Wright's resolution, and Charles Lenox Remond sustained it.

A committee of twelve were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Wendell Phillips made a speech of glorious eloquence, in support of H. C. Wright's resolution. He maintained that men had no right, in forming a government, to admit into it an element which must, by its very nature, defeat the purposes for which that government was formed. He objected to the comparison of a treaty; treaties were the work of *governments*; but this Union was the work of the *people*, and every individual was responsible. Towards the slave, we were a consolidated government, to all intents and purposes; the same as if there were no independent States. We could not get rid of our danger or responsibility by amending the Constitution. Slavery and freedom were eternal antagonisms, and could not exist together in the same institutions. So long as slave representation formed a part of government, slavery would continually tend to corrupt freedom; and therefore if we obtained the repeal of the obnoxious clauses, there would be continual danger that succeeding generations might be induced to re-enact them. He conjured every one to weigh the subject with great deliberation, and decide his own line of action and utterance according to the teachings of his reason and his conscience.

Adjourned till 9 o'clock, Thursday morning.

Met according to adjournment; James C. Fuller in the chair. The committee of forty made their report concerning the operations of the society, and the amount of funds to be raised the coming year. The report was discussed by Charles Marriott, John A. Collins, Samuel Keese, Rodney French, and John Ketchum.

At this stage of the meeting, Lunsford Lane, a noble-looking colored man, who had purchased himself and wife, and seven children, entered the Hall, and was received with enthusiastic cheers. Himself and family, consisting of his mother, and wife, and six children, were called to the platform. He told the story of his sufferings, his wrongs and his perils, with a dignified simplicity and pathos, that deeply touched the sympathies of his hearers. It was heart speaking to the heart. The whole audience were melted to tears.

Frederic Douglas, himself once a slave, followed with some thrilling remarks, indicative of the keenest sympathy with Lunsford Lane. His observations showed, however, that he took a broader and more comprehensive view of our enterprise, than is sometimes taken by those in his situation. He spoke with much feeling of his enslaved brothers and sisters, toiling in the rice swamps of the South; "But," said he, "I would rather see fifty dollars paid into the treasury of the anti-slavery society, than fifty thousand dollars spent in buying up slaves. Mr. Garrison was in the right when he said he did not want to spend time and strength in breaking off a few leaves, or even boughs; he wanted to ascertain how many strokes at the root would make the whole tree fall."

James C. Fuller welcomed Lunsford and his family to their hard-won freedom, with all the fervor of an overflowing heart. His feelings were so much excited, that he could with difficulty find utterance. He wished for them the best of Heaven's blessings, and trusted they would bring up their little ones "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and early imbue them with anti-slavery principles, that they might never forget "those in bonds as bound with them." He hoped they would all go forth as anti-slavery lecturers.

After some discussion on finance, donations and pledges were received to the amount of $9,542 50.

The meeting adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

The question of the dissolution of the Union was discussed, with considerable activity. Rodney French, G. W. F. Mellen, Charles C. Burleigh, George Bradburn, and a lady from the South, spoke in opposition; Abby Kelley in the affirmative. On motion of Edmund Quincy, the whole subject was laid on the table.

The following letter from W. L. Garrison was read, and on motion of Edmund Quincy, was referred to the Executive Committee:

"BOSTON, May 9, 1842.

"To the Ex. Com. of the American A. S. Society:

"DEAR FRIENDS:—After much reflection, I have come to the conclusion not to be present at the annual meeting of the Parent Society, in New-York. The motives which induced me to forego the pleasure of being with you, on that interesting and important occasion, I trust will be accurately understood, and duly appreciated. In a recent number of the Liberator, I ventured to state, (not with the intention of committing the society to any definite course of action, but merely on my own responsibility,) that among the topics that would undoubtedly be presented for discussion at the meeting in New-York, would be the subject of a repeal of the Union between the North and the South—or, in other words, between liberty and slavery—in order that the people of the North might be induced to reflect upon their debasement, guilt, and danger, in continuing in partnership with heaven-daring oppressors, and thus be led to repentance. In behalf of the Society, you have deemed it both necessary and proper, publicly to disclaim any such purpose; and have left the country to infer, not only that no such topic will be introduced, but that its discussion would be foreign to the object of the anti-slavery enterprise—that it does not legitimately come within the constitutional sphere of the society. Under these circumstances, I am most anxious that a free and unbiassed opinion should be expressed by the society on this point, and that every appearance of personal anxiety on my part, as to its decision, should be avoided. I am determined not to allow it to be said, that the society was influenced by my presence and activity, to reverse the position of its Executive Committee—to disclaim the disclaimer—and to occupy new and untenable ground, in relation to this great question of repeal. It is for this reason that I remain at home. I think the Executive Committee have seriously erred in judgment, but I do not esteem them any the less, and am as ready to give them my hearty co-operation for the overthrow of slavery, as at any previous period of my life. Between a difference of opinion and an abandonment of principle, there is an impassable gulf. Of the latter, I do not believe the committee will ever be guilty. I hope nothing will be done hastily, unkindly, or rashly; and that the blessing of the Almighty will be with you all.

With unabated regard, I remain, yours, to the end of the conflict, WM. LLOYD GARRISON."

James McCune Smith offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to appropriate $2,000 for the purpose of testing, in the Supreme Court of the United States, whether the citizens of each State shall be allowed the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

After some discussion, in which Henry H. Garnet, J. A. Collins, and Frederic Douglas participated, the resolution was laid on the table.

The resolution of thanks to J. Q. Adams was called up, and unanimously adopted, in its original form.

The following resolutions were read, and adopted:

Resolved, That with feelings of the deepest gratitude we recognize the overruling hand of Providence in the discipline of events, in relation to the subject of slavery, through which our country has been led during the last few years; and would pour forth our sincerest thanks, giving to Almighty God, for the circumstances amid which we stand; opening the public mind to our appeals, and carrying forward the cause of humanity with a power above that of the human arm. In the state of the nation, in the condition of the church, in the tone of public feeling, we see encouragement for more devotion and greater sacrifice. *We* may not be wanting-when Providence thus opens our way before us, and calls upon man to be so directly a fellow-worker with God.

Resolved, That we deem it our duty to warn abolitionists throughout the country to relax no effort, and to exercise the most untiring vigilance in relation to the intended annexation of Texas to this Union; convinced as we are that there exists among the supporters of the slave system, the most fixed determination to carry the point; and that the secresy with which the purpose is pursued, only doubles the danger.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to take care that remonstrances and petitions against the annexation of Texas be circulated among abolitionists for signature.

Resolved, That the two parties now in conflict in Rhode Island, having in their proposed Constitution been equally regardless of justice in trampling the rights of their colored citizens in the dust, are unworthy the support of abolitionists; and no consistent abolitionist can vote with them, till they shall acknowledge equal rights, regardless of complexion.

Whereas, the action of political and religious bodies in this country, has, to all intents and purposes, proved them to be the great bulwark and pillars of slavery;—and whereas, the connection of professed abolitionists with those associations, constitutes the most perplexing obstacle that the anti-slavery enterprise has encountered, and furnishes its enemies with an unanswerable argument against the sincerity of its professions; therefore,

Resolved, That no person is to be regarded as a consistent abolitionist, who voluntarily continues connected with, or gives support to any organization, civil or ecclesiastical, which gives countenance to slavery, or refuses to act against it.

Whereas, the principle so frequently appealed to by our opponents, viz: that "no person ought to be deprived of his property without compensation," is self-evidently just; and whereas, this society has not hitherto fully conformed to it, in the claims it has made on behalf of the slaves; therefore,

Resolved, That we now demand for them compensation; first, for the patrimony acquired by the hard toil of their ancestors, and withheld from them hitherto; second, for every day's work of their own; and, lastly, for their blunted sympathies, withered affections, and crushed intellects.

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of American abolitionists are due for the munificent aid extended to our enterprise, during the last year, by the friends of the slave in Great Britain and Ireland; and for expressions of sympathy, whose warmth and constancy give us even more strength than their assistance toward pecuniary resources of the cause.

Whereas, the American Society have in preparation at New-York an Anti-Slavery Almanac, for 1843,

Resolved, That the abolitionists of the country are earnestly urged to promote its circulation to the utmost of their ability.

The following resolutions, not brought before the business committee, were adopted:

Resolved, That while we admit, as we ever have done, the *right* of abolitionists, as of any other class of citizens, to form a political party for the attainment of their object, we still hold the opinion, confirmed by all we have witnessed, of the tendencies and effects of such an organization; that it is altogether inexpedient and mischievous; a hindrance rather than a help to our cause; and we would continue to exhort the friends of the slave to withhold from it all co-operation and countenance.

Resolved, That no consistent abolitionist can aid in electing to any office in the gift of the people, any man who will not use his official power and influence, as far as he rightfully can, for the abolition of slavery.

Resolved, That the principles of international law, the past conduct of our own government, as well as justice and humanity, condemn, as utterly untenable, the position assumed in regard to the slaves who emancipated themselves on board the Creole; and in the willingness of Daniel Webster to prostrate his reputation and intellect to support such a claim, we see another proof how wide is the influence, and how overwhelming the power, of the slave system throughout the Union.

Resolved, That from the last profession of Edward Everett, his fellow-citizens have a right to expect that he will vacate the office he holds, sooner than advocate the principles contained in the letter of the Secretary of State, on the subject of the Creole.

Resolved, That the conduct of Gen. Cass, our representative at the French Court, in interfering to arrest and prevent the ratification of a treaty, which has for its object the abolition of the slave trade, deserves the severest condemnation; and while we regret that our country should be so represented abroad, we blush that we are not able to say that such is not her *fitting* representative.

Whereas, it is reported that the government of Canada has, on the demand of the Executive of the State of Arkansas, surrendered a fugitive slave, under pretense that he was a fugitive from justice; therefore

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to inquire into the correctness of this report, and if substantiated, to address Lord Aberdeen; and also those of the abolitionists of Great Britain, whom they shall deem necessary, on this subject; and communicate the following resolution:

Resolved, That with gratitude to God, and deep admiration of the noble attitude of the British government in relation to slavery, we have seen her colonies on our borders afford an asylum to the slave hunted from our pretended republic; and we trust that, through the vigilance of British justice and philanthropy no specious pretenses will be allowed to render that protection a mere name; and that such attention will be given to this subject by Great Britain, as to preclude the possibility of such another mistake.

Resolved, That our Executive Committee be recommended to employ at least twenty lecturing agents, during the whole of the coming year; and that the friends of this society be requested to furnish the committee, as soon as possible, with the names of such persons as they may presume are qualified, and will be willing to act as lecturing agents for the society.

The following resolution, presented by S. S. Foster, was rejected, after some discussion:

Resolved, That this society has learnt with deep regret that its Executive Committee has accepted a donation of ten pounds sterling, from Thomas Fowell Buxton, a noted brewer, in the city of London; and that the committee be instructed to return the money forthwith to the donor, accompanied by a suitable remonstrance, on behalf of the abolitionists of this country, against the criminal and soul-destroying business by which it was obtained.

The committee on nomination of officers made the following report, which was accepted, and the individuals therein named elected as officers of the society:

President.—LINDLEY COATES, Pennsylvania.

Vice Presidents.—Samuel Fessenden, Maine; Enoch Mack, New Hampshire; Rowland T. Robinson, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Massachusetts; Peleg Clarke, Rhode Island; John Gunn, Connecticut; James C. Fuller, New-York; Robert Purvis, Pennsylvania; Joseph Parrish, New Jersey; Henry Gibbons, Delaware; Joseph A. Dugdale, Ohio; Herbert Williams, Indiana; Robert Stewart, Illinois; Zephaniah Platt, Michigan.

Board of Managers.—Nathan Winslow, Geo. Ropes, Maine; N. P. Rogers, John A. Richardson, New Hampshire; Orson S. Murray, Jedediah Holcomb, Vermont; Seth Sprague, Ellis Gray Loring, Massachusetts; Thomas Davis, John Brown, Rhode Island; George Harpe, Butler H. Strong, Connecticut; Ezra C. Smith, Richard P. Hunt, New-York; Lucas Gillingham, John Atkinson, New Jersey; Stephen Smith, Jonas Wyman, Pennsylvania; James Boyle, Lewis C. Gunn, Ohio; Edwin Fussell, Daniel Wilson, Indiana.

Foreign Corresponding Secretary.—Charles C. Burleigh.

Recording Secretary.—L. M. Child.

Treasurer.—Isaac T. Hopper.

Executive Committee.—James S. Gibbons, David Lee Child, William P. Powell, Abby H. Gibbons, James Hudson, Roswell Goss, Nathaniel A. Borden, Edmund L. Benzon, Edward M. Davis, Joseph Post, Joseph C. Hathaway, Wendell Phillips.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR EXPENSES OF MEETING.

M. Wilmarth, $1; J. A. Howland, $1; J. Carpenter, $1; Cash, 25 cts.; R. Durfee, $1; J. & D. Mendenhall, $5; J. S. Gibbons, $2; H

Poetry.

WOMAN'S "APPROPRIATE SPHERE."

BY C. C. BURLEIGH.

Written in an Album, Jan. 22, 1841.

It is to lead her influence to the cause
Of virtue and of human happiness;
To follow even in the steps of Him
Who came the broken-hearted to bind up;
To preach deliverance to the captive chained,
And opening of the prison to the bound.

Nor has she always been "without her sphere."
The page of history is well adorned
With many bright examples of her zeal,
Ardent and holy, iron strength of soul,
Courage sublime, unbending fortitude,
And steady perseverance, when the call
Of human nature outraged, of the weak
Oppressed by lawless power, the poor cast down
Before the crushing foot of insolent wealth,
And the sad victims of despotic rage,
Sighing in hopelessness, have summoned her
To open, for the dumb, her eloquent lips;
To plead for those appointed unto death;
The spoiled to rescue from the spoiler's hand
Her own unshrinking bosom to present
Against the torrent of a conqueror's wrath,
And meet, herself, the storm of fury sent
To smite the object of her sympathy.

Was it not woman, in the olden time,
That dared defy the tyrant, and preserve
The Hebrew children? Was it not her hand
That God employed, His chosen instrument,
To draw the infant Moses from the wave,
And raise him up, his people's champion,
To break the Egyptian yoke? 'T was woman's care,
The gentle guidance of a mother's hand,
The vigilant watching of a mother's voice,
And haply, too, a sister's tones of love,
That trained his spirit for the mighty work;
Sowed in his infant heart the seeds of truth,
Of piety to God, and love to man;
Fired him with holy zeal against the wrongs
Of his afflicted brethren; filled his soul
With such affection for his kindred race,
As led him to renounce the joys of sin,
Wealth, pomp, and power, and luxury and ease,
And all which royal favor could bestow,
That with God's people he might share reproach,
Affliction, toil, and hardship, for a time;
Till with a mighty hand and outstretched arm,
By him his God should break the tyrant's yoke,
And lead the joyful tribes in triumph out.

And was it not at woman's stirring call,
The bands of Zebulon and Naphtali,
Upon the field's high places, to the death
Perilled their lives to burst the galling chains
Of Jabin's tyranny?—when, as we read,
Jehovah sold into a woman's hand,
The countless armies of the Gentile king?

Why should I speak of Esther?—why of her—
Bethulia's matron, who preserved the land
From proud Assyria's invading host?
Or why of those whose kind assiduous care
Attended on the toil-worn Saviour's steps;
Who, in the strength of heaven-born constancy,
Stood by his side in peril, pain, and death,
"And danger braved from which apostles shrank,
Last at his cross and earliest at his grave"?
Why, add to these the Roman matron's name,
Who "saved her country while she lost her son;"
Averting from the trembling city's gates
The Volscian host, which neither Roman arms,
Nor reverend station, sacred character,
Heart-moving prayers, and eloquent appeals,
Of priest and senator—nor yet the cries
Pathetic of a *people*,—doomed to sate
The bloody vengeance of a renegade,
Enraged by their alledged ingratitude,—
Could from its errand of destruction turn?
Or why prolong the wearying strain, to tell
Of numbers more, in old or modern times,
Whose virtues brightly shone, whose deeds of love
Engraved on grateful hearts their records deep,
Of sorrow soothed, of sad dejection cheered;
Joy's sunny smile enkindled on the face
By grief long darkened, of distress relieved;
The insolence of tyrant power rebuked;
The tide of human misery turned back;
And happiness diffused with liberal hand?

But is not woman's strength even now as great
As when it rescued Moses, roused the sons
Of Zebulon and Naphtali to arms,
Reversed the mandate of the Persian king,
Repelled the Assyrian spoiler from his prey,
Stood by the Heavenly Teacher, in his hour
Of peril so extreme, that even they
Whom he had chosen for his bosom friends,
Smitten with fear, forsook their Lord and fled?
It is less potent now, than when of old
It melted down the obstinate resolve
Of Caius Marcius?—is it not the same
It ever has been, or in times remote,
Or in more recent ages,—in the lands
That hail the rising day, or those which spread
Far towards the sunset? Let her use it, then,
To serve the cause of justice. Let her plead
For the down-trodden and degraded slave.
Let her exert her influence to unloose
The iron bands of wickedness; undo
The heavy burdens; let the oppressed go free,
And as Jehovah bids, break every yoke.
TRUTH—Truth omnipotent is on her side,
In this most holy work. Then let her rise,
And in the strength of God, and God's own truth,
Put forth her energy, and sure success
Awaits her. "Woman is the strongest" still,
As in the ancient day; and still doth "Truth
O'er all things bear away the victory."

MAY.

BY J. G. PERCIVAL.

I feel a newer life in every gale;
The winds, that fan the flowers,
And with their welcome breathing fill the sail,
Tell of serener hours,—
Of hours that glide unfelt away
Beneath the sky of May.

The spirit of the gentle south winds calls
From his blue throne of air,
And where his whispering voice in music falls,
Beauty is budding there;
The bright ones of the valley break
Their slumbers, and awake.

The waving verdure rolls along the plain,
And to the wide forest waves,
To welcome back its playful mates again,
A canopy of leaves;
And from its darkening shadow floats
A gush of trembling notes.

Fairer and brighter spreads the reign of May;
The tresses of the woods
With the light dallying of the west wind play;
And the tuft-brimming floods,
As gladly to their goal they run,
Hail the returning sun.

MARY.

Is thy name Mary, maiden fair?
Such should, methinks, its music be;
The sweetest name that mortals bear
Is but befitting thee.
And she to whom it once was given,
Was half of earth and half of heaven.

Miscellany.

From the United States Service Magazine for March.

THE SLAVER.

From the note-book of an officer employed against the slave trade.

HER MAJESTY'S SCHOONER FANCY,
OFF THE COAST OF BRAZIL.

This is the thirty-first day of our cruise,—no sail to gladden our eyesight or excite our hopes! The dolphin refuses the bait,—the turtle swim deep, and are "wide awake!" The wind still holds to the southwest. How wearily the hours drag their "slow length" along! and how the little hooker kicks about! Yes, friends,—little I say. Don't despise her, I pray you! We are not all born great,—some achieve greatness,—and though she is but a schooner, she may yet * * * *

"What does she look like?"

"A small sail, sir, standing toward us."

"One of those eternal fishing-boats, I suppose. Take a look at her from the foreyard, Mr. Smart."

"A fishing-boat sir, only," exclaimed Mr. Smart, in a disappointed tone.

I descended the ladder, not in a very amiable mood.

Be to my faults a little blind,

kind reader; I am one of the "new school." I cannot help it,—but the truth will out. I am not (I say again) a war officer, but in comparison, a very youngster. I have no stories to tell of

Hair breadth 'scapes,
Or dangers in the deadly imminent breach.

Ill-used, time-worn veterans! I cannot share your hardly-earned honors; and, although I do not feel with you your heart burnings, nor the despair of hopes blighted and withered, yet, believe me, I feel for you. Don't pretend to despise us. Don't say that we have degenerated from the gallant tars of old; for you know you don't mean it. No,—your sons are chips of the old block. These new-fangled ways of ours, have some meaning, after all,—you confess as much. Well done, old honesty! then, let me jog on with my note-book.

"Mast-head, there! Look well round, and come down."

Another day has passed into night,—night again has passed into "peep of dawn." It is the morning watch: the sun, about to rise, gives us notice of his approach by the crimson-tinted eastern sky.

"A sail! a sail!" exclaimed a dozen voices; and by St. Paul, a brig!"

I was dreaming of ancient times. I fancied myself Benbow's flag lieutenant, and he would persist (to my great horror) in making me chew tobacco. A voice (which I at first mistook to be Admiral Benbow's) vociferated in mine ear,—

"A sail, sir, bearing due east."

I was on deck in a "quarter less than no time."

"Where is she? Ah! I see. Up with the helm—square the yards, Mr. Smart. Drop the topgallant-sail, and our reefs, and slowly,—nay, slovenly, if you will; for he looks like a clipper; and stratagem is our only chance."

Steady—so! I don't think he observed us yet, for it is scarce daybreak, and we are to the westward of him. Starboard a little—steady! Now for a good squint, and let me wipe the damp off my "Dolland." He appears to be running along the land,—odd, certainly! By Jove! he hauls his wind toward us. He takes us for a coaster. The long gun is quite ready? Good! keep it covered with the tarpaulin, and none of you show your ugly mugs above gunwale.

"Put the red nightcap on, Sambo, and sit on the top of the forescuttle.

We are nearing each other fast: a fine, taunt, rakish-looking craft she appears,—three hundred tons, at least. I think she suspects us. She does, for she edges, and up go her studding sails.

"Dealers in human flesh—have at you!

Bang! goes the thirty-two pounder. Before the smoke clears away the schooner is under every stitch of sail. The breeze freshens,—we are in hot pursuit. "Mind your steerage, quartermaster, and keep her on with the larboard fore-rigging." Steady! Bang! again:—the shot falls short. Out bed, and let the gun down on the rear-axeltree: now, then,—fire with the rising motion. Bang!

"Slap through her main-sail!" exclaims a man off the fore-yard.

She still carries on, and shows no colors; another shot, and another. She increases her distance; we shall lose her, by heavens! "Wet the sails!"—they draw beautifully, and stand like a board; the hammocks are hung up, and a couple of shot placed in each. We hold our own. "He has cut away his stern-boat and his anchor! Villains! it is all in vain!" "Take your time No. 1, and bring down some of his flying kites." Bang! the smoke clears away; hurrah! his fore-topsail yard is shot away in the stays; down it comes, studding-sails and all!—and—one shot more;—she rounds to! and up goes the Portuguese colors!—"Our boats!"

"Mr. Smart, go on board, take possession, and send the prisoners on board the Fancy,"

"The brig is hailing, sir."

"She is from Quillimane in the Mozambique channel," exclaims Mr. Smart: "sixty-two days out, three hundred and thirty slaves, sadly in want of water."

Courteous readers, accompany us, I pray you, on board this slave vessel; come and see the handy works of these blood-thirsty dealers in human flesh. What a nauseous smell as we approach; how slippery and dirty the vessel's side; what a clamor of voices; we are on board.

Look at that cool, villainous-looking scoundrel, pacing up and down the deck, smoking a cigar; his hands are in his pockets; he appears totally unconcerned about the number of murders he has committed, and the horrors that surround him. He is captain of the slaver, and a Portuguese; but he declares that he is only a passenger, and that the captain died at sea. He is even now calculating how much he has lost by this unfortunate speculation. "Let me see," says he, "I own twenty of the healthiest, for my blacks never die!" and he grins,—"that would have given me twelve thousand cruisadoes, and Don Bernadino was to have given me four thousand for the trip,—sixteen thousand clean gone!—diabolo take the English picaroons!" and he mutters "curses not loud but deep." "Well, well, I must be upon my guard now, however. Santa Maria! I wonder if they will rob me of these sixty half doubloons fastened round my waist; if they do may they never receive absolution, the miscreants. He grinds his teeth, lights a fresh cigar, and continues walking the deck.

Behold that skeleton form! the unfortunate breathes! her pulse still beats; her heart even yet utters faintly to the touch of humanity. A few days since, an infant hung at her breast; thrice happy innocent, it died—it was starved—and she, the poor mother, has been starved too! she has existed these last sixty days on a few handfuls of farina, and two gills of putrid water per day; she has lived in the after hold upon some hard planks all this time; look at her excoriated flesh! When she embarked, there were two hundred of her sex stowed with her in bulk!—one hundred and thirty now remain. She might have saved herself, and sacrificed her child; nature gave her a mother's love for her offspring: she nourished and hugged it to her bosom, until the little corpse was taken from her by force, and thrown into the sea. While we are looking, she is dying!—she is dead!—"Oh death! where is thy sting?"

Friend of humanity, turn to that nest of little ones, all in the last stage of the small pox—in the confluent state; their bodies are one mass of sores; their tongues are lolling out of their parched mouths as begging for water: they cannot speak; they utter inarticulate sounds; but in a few hours they will be quite still,—yes! they will be where the "wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest,"—they will die without a groan; watch them narrowly as you may, you will not perceive the transition from life to death! The black, glassy eye is half open, and almost transparent. It quivers!—it is fixed in death.

Mark that living skeleton! lying with his face to the deck; one little month, and that man was a Hercules; but fearful of his strength, the villains have kept him in close irons; this is the first time he has breathed the air of heaven since he embarked. Look at his lengthy frame—his sunken eyes—his lank jaws—his attenuated limbs! the bones seem willing to burst through the frail covering of skin that surrounds them; you may count every rib. He was one of the brave men of his tribe; he was doubtless taken fighting hand to hand, defending his wife, his children, his home; even the rude hut, in the wilds of Africa: but he was surrounded and taken prisoner, and driven with hundreds of others, like flocks of sheep, to the sea-coast. See, he moves,—

He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low.

He is past all suffering: a few hours, and he will cease to exist.

Yonder are some suffering from opthalmia—all more or less blind; one is totally so; and every now; and then he endeavors to throw himself overboard, and when he is restrained, he mumbles something and points to his eyes, as much as to say, "Why should I live? I am of no use—can only exist in utter darkness—let me put an end to my miseries!"

They are serving out the water!—See, what a rush there is to the after hatchway; men, women, children, how eagerly they watch their turn to grasp the little calabash which is half filled for each one. It holds just a pint: with what agony some of the little urchins regard the process!—afraid, dreadfully afraid—they shall be forgotten. How they creep between the legs of the taller ones, to get nearer the tub! A dozen hands are thrust in at once: with what envy they regard the fortunate possessor! and how they watch every drop that passes down his poor, parched throat, and snatch it from his grasp ere it is quite empty! Main strength here wins the day; they have little respect for friends or comrades in misfortune; and no wonder—each is endeavoring to save his own life!

Hark! what splash was that? They have just hove two unfortunates overboard; their bodies were yet warm, but they were encumbering the crowded decks; the flies were swarming around them, and even the air was becoming tainted; they are now food for the sharks; two of these ravenous creatures have been gorged with human flesh, but they are never satisfied: they will await the last victim, and then go in search for more.

Nine bodies have been thrown overboard to-day.

Just peep down into the men's slave-room; how close and poisonous the atmosphere! only three feet from the planks to the deck above: they must all squat down in one position: move they cannot. Immense leaguers for holding water are stowed away underneath; some little fellows manage to crawl between the planks—they find the bunghole of the casks. Necessity is the mother of invention: they tear off a portion of the rag that is tied round their waist, and which is their only covering; fasten it to a rope-yarn, and lower into the cask: lo! they draw it up, suck out all the moisture, and so again, until their insatiate thirst is somewhat abated.—Some never come up again, perhaps cannot, and so die beneath the planks, and are not discovered until the confined air below becomes rank poison, and then a search is made, and a putrid body found and cast overboard.

I feel a hot puff of wind from the southwest—the dense cloud in the horizon is rising fast—a flash of lightning issues from it—it begins to sputter with rain; this portends a squall. Unhappy wretches! you must descend. With what reluctance they go!—the strongest shoving the weak before them.—Look at the forest of human heads with their faces turned upward, peeping through barred-down gratings of the hatchway! What shoving, squeezing, cuffing, and yelling, to get the envied berth! Brute force again carries the day, and the weak squat down in despair—their breasts heave; they gasp for a little air.

A short time before we captured her, they were all battened down in a gale of wind. Yes, they covered over the hatchways to prevent the seas, that fell on board, from filling the vessel. What screams of agony, what yells must have been uttered, when they were suffocating! The weather moderated, the hatches were opened, and forty corpses were passed up and committed to the deep.

Thanks be to heaven for the fine, refreshing, fair wind: how the sun shines and the vessel flies! The port is in sight, and we shall anchor ere sunset.

Lo! we are at anchor. What cries of joy the unfortunates utter, as they brought them across the Atlantic! Those that are dying, for a while partake of the joy, and fancy their sufferings all over; and, indeed, so they are; for no earthly aid can save their bodies, and, alas! they are ignorant of their souls. And thus they die, casting a last envying look on their comrades, who "eat, drink, and be merry"—on the cool, clear, spacious decks of Her Majesty's receiving frigate, Crescent. The healthiest are divided into messes, and are given beef, soup, and farina, and as much water as they can safely drink.

Some little urchins love to sit all day long by the side of the tank, and turn the water for every one who comes; that running stream being to them the dearest sight earth can afford. The sick are laid on beds, and have the best medical treatment; they are given nourishing food to reanimate their debilitated frames; some poor skeletons would drink all day long [if allowed,] so great is their thirst. By degrees they recover and get merry, and dance their native dances, and sing their national songs, and so in time, by care and kind treatment, forget all their past sufferings. When they have sufficiently recovered, another scene takes place; one half of them are again sent on board the slave vessel; they are about to proceed to the British colony of Guiana; for if they remain in the Brazils they will again become slaves.

How the poor creatures dread another voyage!—how they cling to the sides of the frigate, as if to save themselves from a certain death! they recollect all that they had previously suffered—the suffocation! the raging thirst! the burning heat of their bodies! comrade after comrade dying beside them! But their fears are in vain; happily for them, they are no longer in the hands of the Philistines: 180 are now put into a space were 500 were crammed on leaving the coast of Africa. The water is pure and wholesome, and they are allowed a liberal quantity.

They are all clothed; for the Guiana Immigration Society not only liberally provide clothing, but defray all the expenses of their transportation. The provisions consist of hung beef, salt fish, farina, rice, and lemon juice; with tapioca, arrowroot, sugar, wine, &c. for the sick. Each one is provided with a mat, which they take the greatest care of. The officer who is sent with them is very particular in keeping the vessel pure and clean, and regularly ventilated, sprinkling chloride of lime in the hold occasionally, and keeping the negroes as much on deck as possible. Twenty of the strongest are selected to assist the seamen in working the ship. They keep regular watch, which they are very proud of.

The passage is long and tedious, but they are merry and free from care, as the following extract from the prize officer's private log will show.

"The negroes this evening established a band of culinary instruments. Such a din I never heard; kettles, frying-pans, baking-dishes, tin pots, spoons, &c. &c. all in one concert! After the dancing, a kind of pantomime was performed, in which the actors imitated all the actions and stratagems of the elephant hunter. One stout fellow appeared particularly excited, and for the moment, perhaps, fancied himself again in his native woods—he handled a stick, with the greatest dexterity, loading and firing quickly, and with great minutiæ of movement.

The successful shot was attended with a yell of triumph, and a crash of pots, pans, &c. His movements were regulated by a song, in which all joined.

Thus, evening after evening, they amused themselves. At length they anchor in the river Berbice; they are landed, and are located near a plantation. They immediately demolish an acre of sugar canes.

The men and women are now divided, and made to form a line opposite each other; the men are told to select a wife from the opposite party, when, if the lady be nothing loth, they are married by a magistrate, and henceforth are husband and wife. Some are not contented with one, but want two wives; and appear much disappointed when refused, especially if the women are the more numerous. One fellow, a cook by profession, quite an artiste in his way, picked out three, and sadly wanted to keep them all; but finding it impossible, he took two children, thus becoming a family man at once.

In a short time they begin to work at the different plantations, and gain a livelihood; labor here finding a ready market, they are perfectly at liberty to change masters when they please; they are under the protection of a magistrate, responsible only to the government; and they enjoy as much liberty in every respect as those of our own race. They become Christians, attend church, and in the fullness of time, depart this world,—not as worshippers of stones and serpents, but with a hope of everlasting happiness. And thus ends the liberated African's strange eventful history.

From the Boston Miscellany.

POETRY.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

True poetry is out of place nowhere; and a good word spoken for her will always find some willing and fruitful ear. Even under the thin crust of fashion and frivolity, throb the undying fires of the great soul of man, which is the fountain and centre of all poesy, and which will one day burst forth and wither, like grass-blades, all the temples and palaces, which form and convention have heaped over it.—Behind the blank faces of the weak and thoughtless, we see this awful and mysterious presence, as we have seen one of Allston's paintings in a ball-room, overlooking with its serene and steadfast eyes, the butterfly throng beneath it, and seeming to gaze from these narrow battlements of time far out into the infinite promise of eternity; and see there the free, erect, and perfect soul.

It is the high and glorious vocation of poesy to make our daily life and toil more beautiful and holy by the divine ministerings of love. She is love's apostle, and the very almoner of God. For her the hut becomes a palace, whose halls are guarded by the gods of Phidias, and made peaceful by the maid-mothers of Raphael. She loves better the poor wanderer, whose bare feet know by heart all the freezing stones of the pavement, than the rich maiden, for whose tender soles Brussels and Turkey are over careful; and we doubt not but some remembered scrap of childish song has often been a truer alms than all the benevolent societies could give.—The love of the beautiful and true, like the dew-drop in the heart of the crystal, remains forever clear and liquid in the inmost shrine of man's being, though all the rest be turned to stone by sorrow and degradation. The angel who has once come down into the soul of man, will not be driven thence by any sin or baseness. At the soul's gate sits she silently, with downcast eyes and folded hands; but at the least touch of nobleness, those patient orbs are uplifted, and the whole soul is filled with their prayerful lustre.

Over all life broods poesy, like the calm, blue sky, with its motherly, rebuking face. She is the true preacher of the word; and in the time of danger and trouble, when the established shepherds have cast down their crooks and fled, she tenderly careth for the flock. On her calm and fearless heart rests weary freedom, when all the world have driven her from their door with scoffs and mockings. From her white breasts flows the strong milk which nurses our patriots and martyrs; and she robs the fire of heat, makes the axe edgeless, and dignifies the pillory or the gallows. She is the great reformer; and where the love of her is strong and healthy, wickedness and wrong cannot long prevail. The more this love is refined and cultivated, the more do men strive to make their outward lives rhythmical and harmonious, that they may accord with that inward harmony and rhythm by whose key the composition of all noble and worthy deeds is guided. It is this love which we shall endeavor to foster and increase in our poetical extracts and criticisms; for it profits more to point out one beauty, than to sneer at a thousand faults. If we can make one object in outward or inward nature more beautiful and holy to the heart of one of our readers, it will be reward enough. For the more sympathies we gain or awaken for beautiful things, by so much deeper will be our sympathy with that which is most beautiful—the human soul. Love never *contracts* its circles. They *widen*, by as fixed and sure a law, as those round a stone cast into still waters. The angel of love, when, full of sorrow, he followed the exiles from paradise, unwittingly snapt off and brought away in his hand a seed-pod of one of the never-fading flowers, which grew there. Into all the dreary and desolate places of life fell some of its blessed kernels,

"Sowing the common earth with golden seed,
Bright as if dropt down from the galaxy."

They needed little soil to root themselves in; and in this narrow patch of our clay, they sprang most quickly and sturdily. Gladly they grew, and from them all time has been sown with whatever gives a higher hope to the soul, or makes life nobler and more godlike; while, from the overarching sky of poesy, sweet dew forever falls to nourish and keep them green and fresh from the world's dust.

GOOD SAYINGS.

STEAM AND LEGISLATORS.—Man is a tool-using animal. And surely, if we consider the interval between the first wooden dibble fashioned by man, and the Liverpool steam carriages, or British House of Commons, we shall note what progress he has made.—Man digs up certain black stones from the bosom of the earth, and says to them, "Transport me and this luggage, at the rate of five-and-thirty miles an hour;" and they do it. He collects, apparently by lot, six hundred and fifty-eight miscellaneous individuals, and says to them, "Make this nation toil for us, bleed for us, hunger, and sorrow, and sin for us;" and they do it.—*T. Carlyle.*

WHENCE, AND WHITHER?—I am; and lately was not. But whence? how? whereto? The answer lies around, written in all colors and motions, uttered in all tones of jubilee and wail, in thousand-figured, thousand-voiced, harmonious nature; but where is the cunning eye and ear, to whom that God-written apocalypse will yield articulate meaning? Creation lies before us, like a glorious rainbow; but the sun that made it lies behind us, hidden from us.—*Ibid.*

THE RELIGIOUS IDEA.—No man is better than his idea of God. Rather, perhaps, he will ever insist upon making his God no better than himself. The religion of the land is the utterance of what is in the *heart* of the people of the land; and it is only to be amended by the regeneration of that heart.—*E. Quincy.*

TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

VALUABLE TESTIMONY FROM MARIA EDGEWORTH.

To the editor of the Morning Register:

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I send thee *another* testimony to the value of that which has done such great things for Ireland—"the temperance reformation." It is truly cheering to see one so eminent in the annals of our country, coming forward and bearing so full a testimony in favor of the good cause. Maria Edgeworth has borne a noble testimony to the cause, and I trust it will encourage the many zealous laborers to persevere! And let us recollect there is still abundant need to do so. Drunkenness is not yet banished from the land. The causes of drunkenness are still at work. Distilleries and breweries are *still* destroying the food of the hard-working and suffering millions! Let us ever keep in mind, too, that the "corner-stone" of the temperance movement is its "*universality*"—its watchword is "EXAMPLE"—its strength is moral power, based on love. It calls no man lost or irrecoverably degraded. It says alike to all—to the Queen on her throne, and the peasant in his cottage—"don't take the first glass, and drunkenness will vanish from the land." I have only to add, that I trust Maria Edgeworth's testimony will spread far and wide, and strengthen the friends of the temperance cause, both at home and abroad. Respectfully,

RICHARD ALLEN.

Dublin, 3d of 3d mo. (March.) 1842.

EDGEWORTHSTOWN, Feb. 28, 1842.

SIR,—Your letter needs no apology. I thank you for having thought it worth while to apply to me, and for desiring to have my opinion on the temperance association, along with those of the most benevolent and enlightened friends to humanity.

I am happy to be able, by the experience we have had in this neighborhood, and by all that I have heard of evidence from different parts of the country, to confirm the accounts you have from all parts of Britain—and especially from Mr. Clarkson, "the venerable Clarkson," as you justly call him. I should content myself with saying, as once a gentleman did after hearing a speech of Burke's,

"I say ditto to Mr. Burke—
I say ditto to Mr. Clarkson"—

but that I think it may be useful to this good cause that all should give specific individual evidence of what they KNOW OF THEIR OWN KNOWLEDGE of the operation of this temperance pledge.

In our village of Edgeworthstown, the whisky selling has diminished *since* the pledge has been taken, within the last two years, so as to leave public houses empty, **and to oblige the** landlord to lower house-rent considerably. This we know to our pecuniary loss, I *need not add to* our moral satisfaction.

The appearance of the people, their quiet demeanor at markets and fairs, has wonderfully improved in general—and to the knowledge of this family many notorious drinkers, and some, as it was thought, confirmed drunkards, have been completely reformed by taking the pledge.

They have become able and willing to work, and to take care of their farms and business—are decently clothed, and healthy, and happy, and now make their wives and children happy, instead, as before the reformation, miserable and half heart-broken. I have heard some of the strong expressions of delight of some of the wives of the reformed drunkards. One wife said to me, "Ma'am, I'm the happiest woman now that can be; sure *he* says he is wakened from a dream; and now *he* goes about his business so well—and, ma'am, he can eat more, and he can hear the noise of the children, which he never could formerly."

I have heard of many instances where the health has been improved, even where the "total abstinence" began late in life, and after habits of daily intemperance.

I have not known of any in which the health has suffered. Very few, scarcely any, instances of breaking the pledge, have as yet come to our knowledge. But some have occurred. The culprits have been completely shunned and disgraced, so that they are awful warnings to others.

So long as public opinion is upheld in this manner, and so continues to act, we may hope that this great power—this inestimable moral blessing, to Ireland in particular—will continue; and most earnestly I hope and pray that it may.

Beyond all calculations—beyond all the predictions of experience, and all the examples from the past, and all analogy—this wonderful crusade against the bad habits of nations—the bad habits and sensual tastes of individuals—has succeeded and lasted for about two years.

It is amazing; and proves the power of moral and religious influence and motive beyond any other example on record in history.

I consider Father Matthew as the greatest benefactor to his country, the most true friend to Irishmen and to Ireland; and am, sir, with the most earnest wish for the continued success of your great cause, yours, truly, MARIA EDGEWORTH.

R. Allen, Esq. Secretary Irish Temperance Union, Dublin.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Apples.—It is a common belief with Pennsylvania farmers, that apple trees never produce fine fruit, nor much of it, unless the trees blossom *during the increase of the moon.* In the year 1837, this was the case; and the apples of that year were very abundant, and perfectly formed and ripened. The coincidence has not happened since; nor have we since had plenty of good apples. This spring the favorable omen again occurs.

Calves among Sheep.—Some farmers who have kept calves among sheep, recommend this method as decidedly superior. We have tried it with success, and noticed a great improvement in calves, in a month or two after put with sheep, when the sheep were fed with hay only, the same as previously given to the calves.

The digestive powers of young cattle are very strong, and well calculated to dispose of coarse fodder; and on such fodder it is generally allowed that they do the best. Whether the calves receive an advantage from the coarse fodder on which they mostly subsist when with sheep, and the sheep readily pick out the finest, or the dung and state of sheep dropped on the fodder, has a good effect, we cannot tell.

The orts of sheep are sometimes found to possess medical virtues for other stock. We once owned a sick horse, whose disorder seemed proof against other medicine; and by keeping him wholly on sheep's orts, which was mostly raked out of the manure, where they had lain for a month or two, and which were readily eaten, a speedy cure was produced. We knew not enough of "horseology" to determine what the disorder was. It was attended with a severe cough, loss of appetite, leanness, and general debility.

It has been stated, and by our observation confirmed, that calves that run with sheep are never infested with lice, and not liable to disorders; and this method of taking care of them is very convenient, as they may be kept in a yard with the sheep, separate from the other cattle, and watered in the morning before the other cattle are turned out, which are liable to disturb or injure them. After the stronger cattle are housed early in the evening, the calves may again go to the water in peace and safety.

When calves run with sheep, it may be well to tie them up a part of the time, in the latter part of the winter, or in the spring; else they will be more difficult to manage the second winter, if not accustomed to confinement, and frequent handling, to tame them the first winter.

We have never known the practice of keeping calves among sheep to be pursued extensively; therefore we recommend it for experiment, as it is highly approved by all who have tried it, as far as our information extends. Please try this way, and report to us the result.—*Farmer's Journal.*

Cow Sickness.—If horse radish is given to cows, in doses of a pint at a time once a day, it will materially aid their appetite, and will prevent or speedily relieve cows of the disease called "cake in the bag." I feed it freely to any animal of mine that is unwell; and find it of great service to working oxen, troubled with the heat. I have had one ox that would eat greedily a peck at a time. Few animals refuse it; and if they do, it may be cut up and mixed with potatoes or meal.—*Albany Cultivator.*

Making Bread.—The following bread has been found very useful for those to whom fine flour bread was injurious: Of good wheat, ground fine, but unbolted, take three quarts, one quart of warm water, one gill of fresh yeast, one gill of molasses, and one teaspoonful of saleratus. Make two loaves, bake one hour, and cool gradually. It has sometimes been called dyspepsia bread.

No kind of bread should be put into an oven too hot, as a crust will be formed, and the proper rising prevented. Heat your oven thoroughly, but let the first flush heat pass off before your bread is put in. If you fling in a little flour, and it browns in about a minute, put in your bread; if it burns black, wait a few minutes. There is much depending, in every family, on the bread used; and the greatest care should be taken to have it sweet, and of good quality. Bread should never be put on the table till twenty-four hours after baking, where health and economy are consulted.—*Ib.*

Miscellaneous Items.

Case of the Tigris.—The Salem Gazette publishes the following note from Lord Aberdeen—transmitted by Mr. Everett to the owners of that vessel. It is an acknowledgment and redress of wrong worthy an honorable and magnanimous nation.—*New-York Tribune.*

Her Majesty's government acknowledges that the act of the officer commanding the "Waterwich," was not justifiable upon any principle of international law, or by any existing treaty between Great Britain and the United States; and that the case is one in which compensation may be justly demanded by the United States' government from the government of Great Britain. The undersigned has accordingly the honor to request the owners of the "Tigris" to send a statement, accompanied by documentary evidence, of the damage which they have sustained by the unauthorized act of the British officer; in order that the account, as soon as it shall have been substantiated to the satisfaction of her Majesty's government, may at once be settled.

(Signed) ABERDEEN.

A Terrible Affair at Louisville.—A fire broke out at Louisville, on the 19th inst. which consumed a house in which there was a sick man, a stranger, who became a victim to the flames. It is supposed that a person, not known to the family where the sick man lay, who came a few days previous and assumed the authority of taking charge of him and his effects, set the building on fire. Several other adjoining houses were also destroyed before the flames could be checked.

Whilst the fire was raging, a gentleman named Patten, an old and highly respectable citizen, removed his furniture, fearing that his house might also be consumed. After the fire had been completely extinguished, and the bustle and turmoil attendant thereon had somewhat subsided, Mr. Patten proceeded to replace his property; and whilst in the act of doing so, was attacked in the passage leading to his house, by a man armed with a bowie knife, who coolly and deliberately, without the slightest provocation, stabbed him to the heart, and made his escape. This unfortunate man expired almost instantly, but with his last breath uttered in language loud enough to be heard, that his murderer was named McLaughlin, who has since been identified, apprehended and imprisoned, to await his trial. It is the opinion of the Louisville Journal, that that city is at present infested with a frightful gang of incendiaries; and that the fire here mentioned, was undoubtedly caused by some of them.

American Credit.—The following is an extract from a letter of the great English poet, Wordsworth, to Bishop Doane:

"The proceedings of some of the States in your country, in money concerns, and the shock which is given to the credit of the State of Pennsylvania, have caused much trouble under our roof, by the injury done to some of my most valuable connexions and friends. I am not personally and directly a sufferer; but my brother, if the State of Pennsylvania should fail to fulfill its engagements, would lose almost all the little savings of his long and generous life. My daughter, through the perfidy of the State of Mississippi, has forfeited a sum, though but small in itself, large for her means; and a great portion of my most valued friends have to lament their misplaced confidence. Topics of this kind are not pleasant to dwell upon; but the more extensively the injury is made known, the more likely is it, that where any remains of integrity, honor, or even common humanity exist, efforts will be made to set and keep things right."

Emigration to Oregon.—A meeting has been held in the western part of Missouri, for the purpose of organizing a company to emigrate to the Oregon territory. Thirty were enrolled, and pledged themselves for the expedition. A committee was appointed to visit the neighboring counties, for the purpose of enlisting others in the enterprise. The emigrants take their families with them, and look forward to a permanent settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains.

It is said Oregon will soon be brought under a territorial government, and will be recognized as a part of the United States, as Iowa and Wiskonsan are.

Free Blacks.—It appears from the late census returns, that the State of Maryland has more free blacks within her territory, than any other State in the Union. The numbers of the free blacks, in 7 of the States, are as follows: Maryland, 62,820; New-York, 50,027; Virginia, 49,842; Pennsylvania, 47,854; Louisiana, 24,358; Ohio, 17,842; North Carolina, 22,732.

Ingenuity.—The washerwomen in the vicinity of Paris have been detected in smuggling spirits through the gates by saturating washed linen with it, and, when within the city, wringing the spirit out; which being reduced to a proper degree of strength by admixture of water, was sold for consumption.

CHESTERFIELD BOARDING SCHOOL,
For Boys under fourteen years of Age,
Situated on the Crosswicks road, about three miles from Bordentown, N. J.

THE School will open for the summer term, on the 16th day of the 5th month, 1842. In the government of the school, care will be extended to form such habits and inculcate such principles, as will best advance the welfare of the pupils, both morally and physically. The scholars will be expected to attend (with their teacher) Friends' meeting, at Crosswicks, about three-fourths of a mile distant. The number of boys limited to twenty.

TERMS: Sixty dollars per term of twenty-two weeks; payable half in advance, the remainder in the middle of the term—books and stationery included; no extra charges. The services of an assistant in the school has been engaged. It is desirable that the outer garments of the boys should be dark colored, and all the clothing marked with the pupil's name. HENRY W. RIDGWAY.

References.—Joseph Ridgway, No. 70, Chesnut street; George Truman, No. 105, Arch street; George M. Justice, No. 149, Market street; Philadelphia. Charles Marriott, I. T. Hopper, J. S. Gibbons, New-York.
4th-mo. 21.

FREE-LABOR GOODS,
At Wholesale and Retail.

CALICOES, small and large figures; 4-4, 5-4, and 6-4 unbleached Muslins; do. do. do. bleached Muslins; super Manchester Ginghams; 3-4 and 4-4 colored Muslins; 7-8 and 4-4 Bed Tickings; Canton Flannel, bleached and unbleached; Cotton Laps and Wadding, low price; bleached and unbleached and colored Knitting Cotton; Cotton Yarn; Manchester Stripe, for men's wear; Apron Checks and Furniture Checks. Also, a full assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Linen Sheetings and Shirtings, Grass Cloth Hdkfs., Mouslin de Laines, and Silks.

Persons from a distance, (store-keepers in particular,) wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders, and at the lowest prices at which they can be afforded.

N. B.—The above cotton goods are all warranted to be *free from Slave Labor.* Persons wishing to purchase can have full evidence of the fact.

CHARLES WISE,
N. W. corner of Arch and Fifth streets
Philadelphia, 1st mo., 13th, 1842.

Free-Labor Goods.

Calicoes, muslins, bedticking, canton flannel, white and brown sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, &c. Wholesale and retail, by CHARLES COLLINS.
No. 3 Cherry-street, New-York.
5th mo. 3d, 1842.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,
No. 31, *North Fifth street.*

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

TERMS—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months. $10,00 in advance will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

A full assortment of anti-slavery publications is kept constantly on hand. Also, a handsome variety of miscellaneous books, and useful and fancy stationery.

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